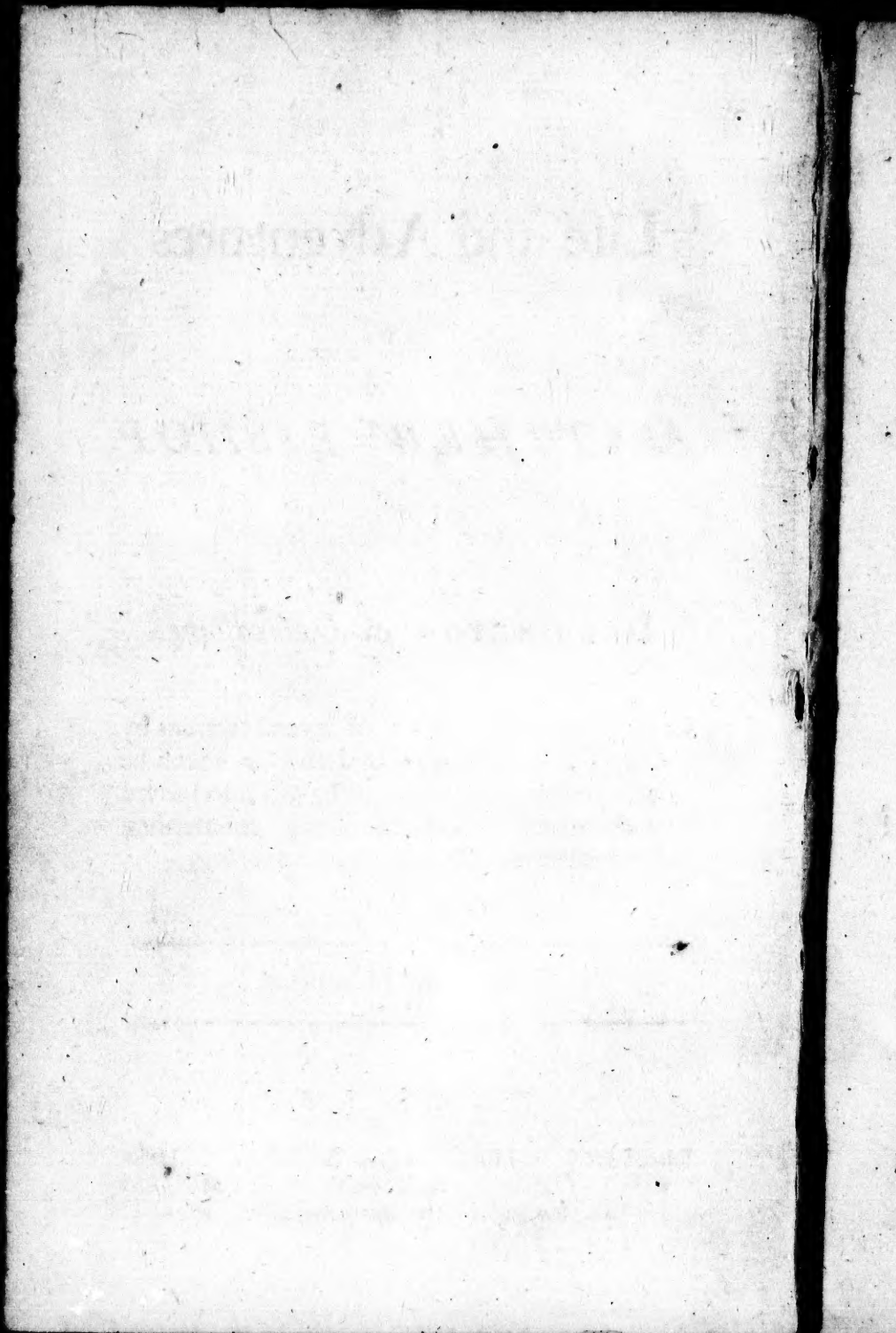




THE
Life and Adventures
OF
MATTHEW BISHOP
OF
Deddington in *Oxfordshire*.

Containing an ACCOUNT of several Actions by Sea, Battles and Sieges by Land, in which he was present from 1701 to 1711, interspersed with many curious Incidents, entertaining Conversations and judicious Reflections.

Written by HIMSELF.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. BRINDLEY in *New Bond-Street*; G. HAWKINS in *Fleet-Street*; R. DODSLEY in *Pall-Mall*; and J. MILLAN opposite to the *Admiralty-Office*. 1744.

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Field Marshal and Governor of the

of the

Department in

THE NARRATIVE

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TO THE
RIGHT HONORABLE
THE
Earl of STAIR,

Field Marshal and Commander in Chief
of his Majesty's Forces in *South Britain*,

This NARRATIVE

of his LIFE and ADVENTURES

is humbly inscrib'd

by his LORDSHIP'S

most dutiful humble Servant,

Matthew Bishop.

TO THE

RIGHT HONORABLE

THE

PEERAGE OF GREAT BRITAIN

Field Marshal and Commander in Chief
of his Majesty's Forces in South Britain

THE NARRATIVE

of his Life and Adventures

Expressed in his own words

by his Lordship's

most faithful servant

Matthew Bishop

(v)
THE PUBLISHER
TO THE
READER.

THE *Authors of Lives and Adventures* generally write from a View to Praise, and with a fixed Resolution to gain it at any Expence. Thus it happens that a Fondness to set off their own Characters to the best Advantage, and strong Desire to delight and captivate the Reader, make them have Recourse to Adventures really surprising, but merely fictitious. At least their Narrations are so larded with false Circumstances, that Truth, so shaded by it's Contrary, can scarce be distinguished.

vi The Publisher to the Reader.

If their Veracity could be depended on in other Respects, yet their own Conduct is so little defective, that what they say of themselves can never be swallowed by any, but the over-credulous and ignorant Class of Readers, who believe in Heroes who never existed, and whose Achievements can never be equalled.

But the Motive of many Writers of Memoirs is very different, nor do they aim at abusing the Credulity of Mankind. Their sole View is to be of Use to them by a strict Adherence to Truth, and an impartial Narration of their bad as well as good Actions: That while the latter excites the Emulation of others, the fatal Consequences of the former may both caution and deter them from following in the same Track.

In this Class I would rank our Author, and hope that the Reader, by perusing this Narration of his Life and Adventures, would be edified at the same time that he is entertained.

The Period, in which he appeared on the active Stage of Life, is still so fresh in the Memory

The Publisher to the Reader. vii

memory of many, who bore their Part in it; and the grand Events it produced so interesting, that few now living can be supposed unqualified to expose any Misrepresentation of the principal Facts mentioned in his Story, had he ventured to falsify them.

A Man of Honour scorns to impose on the Public, and our Author seems to relate nothing but Incidents, wherein he was either an Actor or an Eye-witness; and, without Partiality in his own Favour, exhibits both the Good and Bad of his own Conduct.

Though it can't be expected that a Performance of this kind, from one in his Sphere, can merit the Esteem due to a complete History of that interesting Period, yet it is to be hoped it will be allowed it's Share, if not for the Author's sake, yet for the sake of particular illustrious Characters he attempts to do Justice to. At least this may obtain him Forgiveness for any Want of Method or Diction, for which he may be blamed.

His

viii The Publisher to the Reader.

His Intention is to have an unbiassed regard to Truth, and his Hopes are that his Transgressions in Stile will be sufficiently compensated thereby, together with the Variety of Incidents that occur within the small Compass of his Work: that while his Actions excite Emulation, and his Reflections inspire a true Veneration for the Author and Preserver of all Things; the many diverting Conversations, interspersed throughout the whole, will be both edifying and entertaining.



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THE
Life and Adventures
OF
MATTHEW BISHOP.

CHAP. I.

*The Author leaves Oxfordshire and goes
into Kent: his strong Inclination to go
to Sea: enters on Board the Swift Snow.*

IN the Year 1701 I left the Place of my
Nativity, *Deddington* in *Oxfordshire*, and
went to *Canterbury* in *Kent*, where I lived
some time at a Relation's House at the
Sign of the *Three Kings*. During my Stay here
his Majesty, King *William* the Third, came
through the Town to go to *Holland*. I ga-
thered all the Flowers out of our own Garden
and several more, to adorn the high Street as
he came along; and, with some others, ran by
the Side of his Coach from *College Yard*, almost

London: I

B

two

two Miles, huzzaing and crying *God bless King William!* 'till his Majesty put his Hand upon the Glass, and looking upon us said, *it is enough.* Upon this we desisted, and I returned home, but could not be easy in my Mind.

Being of a rambling Disposition, I went to visit a distant Relation, one Mr. *Davill* of *Trenly Park*, who was very glad to see me, and desired I would stay with him some Time. For, as he had a great many Hands employed, he would take it as a Favour if I would assist him by overseeing his Workmen. I complied and staid with him about ten Days; but grew very uneasy, having a strong Desire to go to Sea. I then bethought myself of going to Mr. *Bicks* of *Fordige*, two Miles from *Canterbury*, to try whether he would give me any Encouragement, as he knew all my Friends and Relations. But he begged me not to think of any such Thing, and to return home immediately. His Persuasions were all ineffectual, and at length I prevailed on him to let me go along with his Men to *Sandwich*, in order to try how the Water would agree with me. I liked it extremely, and was for going again, but he would not suffer me; saying, if I pleased I might go into his Compting-House and assist his Clerk, which accordingly I did and continued with him about a Fortnight. The Thoughts of the Sea still ran so much in my Mind, that it rendered me unfit for any other than that Profession.

I thought

I thought it would be ungrateful in me, not to take leave of all my Relations in that Part. Wherefore I went to an Aunt's House at *Wye*, and imparted to her my fixed Resolution. *Have you a Mind*, says she, *to break your Friends Hearts? Pray do not think of any such thing; for it will be your utter Destruction, if you go without advising with your Father about it.* I told her I was absolutely determined at all Events, and let the Consequence be what it would. She replied, *she was very sorry I did not think of something better, as my Friends had been at so much Trouble in giving me Education and a Trade for some End: therefore, she thought, I should not act the honorable Part by them, if I persisted in going.* These daily Checks to my Inclination made me quite weary of her Company; so I told her I purposed to go to see my Uncle, to have his Approbation before I went. *By all means*, says she, *and I hope he will turn your Heart from this Way of thinking.* So I took my Leave, begging she would be so kind as to drink my Health sometimes, for I intended to go plough the Main. I then made the best of my Way to advise with my Uncle at *Harri-son*. But by his declaring against any Thing of the Kind, and that he would by no Means in Life be induced to approve of it, (*for if any Thing should happen to me, he should never forgive himself*) I found it was not agreeable News to him and he was of my Aunt's Opinion. Therefore I dropt that Discourse, and talked of somewhat which I imagined would

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be agreeable to him. It was chiefly of his Cattle, and his Lands. I frequently rode out with him in a Morning to look at his Stock. This, and some Compliments I made him on his good Management, pleased him exceedingly. I diverted him to such a Degree, that I found it a difficult Matter to get away, but at last I prevailed, by promising whenever I came that Way to call on him and stay some Time, which I could not conveniently do then.

We parted, and my Resolution was to go to *Chatham*. When I came there I made it my Business to enquire what Ships lay in the River ready for sailing, and was told of the *Swift Snow*, formerly commanded by Captain *Jumper* though then by Captain *Wynn*: I asked if she was mann'd? They told me she had not her Complement. In the mean time the Purser came up and asked me, *If I wanted to speak with any one in the Dock?* I told him I wanted to see some Officer belonging to the *Swift Snow*, for I intended to go on board her. *Not as a Sailor*, says he? I replied it was my fixed Resolution to go in that Station. Then he desired me to go along with him to Mr. *Gregory* the Muster Master. It was in *February 170½* but I have forgot what Day, I entered on board the *Swift Snow*. I was as expeditious as I could in getting my Business done effectually, though I was offended at the Person's telling me a Lie. For he said the *Swift Snow* was in the River, and at the same Time she was in the Dock. In the mean time I was ordered on Board the

Princess

Princess Anne Man of War, till the other came out of the Dock. Here I had the Liberty of going frequently ashore in the Yawl, and one Time, I think on the 8th of *March*, I heard the News of the King's Death. Shocked to hear of this sudden Change, I went and told my Companions, and we hurried on Board to inform the Officers of what we had heard. They went on Shore directly, and found it true; and when they came on Board they told us *Princess Anne* was proclaimed Queen. This News suggested several agreeable Reflections to me: I imagined we should have a smart War, and flattered myself with the hope of making my Fortune in case it should continue any considerable Time. But though I had Vanity enough to think I might merit something advantageous to myself, and with that View waded through the Wars, with the utmost Care and Industry, I was nevertheless disappointed. Yet, I hope in the Sequel the Reader will find I exerted my utmost Efforts to serve my Queen and Country, notwithstanding my Views of attaining Honours and Advantage to myself were not crowned with Success. I shall begin therefore with the Incidents of the following Year, and relate all my Adventures both by Sea and Land; from the Beginning to the End of the Wars. With Regard to other Facts related, as having a necessary Connexion with the Narrative of my own Life, the Reader may depend on the Truth of them, as I shall only mention what I was an Eye-witness to.

CHAP. II.

The Author sails on Board the Swift Snow to join the Fleet. The Descent on Cadiz: Vigo taken: Returns to Portsmouth.

IN 1702 I was in the *Swift Snow*, Captain Wynn Commander, and we lay at *Black Stakes* when War with *France* was proclaimed on board our Ship. From thence we went to the *Buoy at Nower*, where some General Officers came on board, and we carried them to *Helvoet Sluice* in *Holland*: From thence we sailed to the *Downs*: Then we were ordered to *Spithead*, to join Sir *George Rook*, who lay there with three Squadrons of Men of War. We were in Sir *Stafford Fairborn's* Squadron, and sail'd to make a Descent on the *Spanish Coast*. Our first Place of anchoring was in the *Bay of Bulls*, where Sir *Stafford* came on board our Ship, and we weigh'd and went farther in. Then Colonel *Bur* went in the Barge, with a white Flag, to *Cadiz*, but did not stay above two Hours. Our Eyes were continually fixed on him to see him land, and when he had landed we carefully observed his Return to the Boat. He made for our Ship and came on board. The next Day a Signal was given to the *Spaniards*, who were very busy at work between *Rota* and *St. Catharine's Castle*. The Intention of it was to erect a Battery; but we, perceiving what they were about, soon prevented them. They are very ingenious at making Fascine Batteries;

tries ; but we were too brisk for them. For hoisting sail we lay along Shore, and sent them Word by the Mouth of a Cannon to desist from that laborious Employment ; and they were glad to leave it, when the Dust was flying about their Ears. It created a great deal of Mirth in us, to see how they ran, some one way, and some another. The Work was over with them, but ours was to begin, as you shall hear.

We landed our Forces about half a Mile from *Rota*, and the *Spaniards* came down to oppose us ; but they went off again when the Shot began to fly about their Ears. Then our Army marched to *Rota* without any Obstruction. *Rota* lies upon a Descent, and is a Place of but little Strength on the Land-side where our Army incamped. The Day that the Army was to march there, Orders were given to send some Seamen on Shore ; so our Captain came upon the Quarter-Deck, and all the Men being call'd up, he asked who was willing to go on Shore to serve as Pioneers ; for here, says he, are Orders for twenty Men. Let those that are willing come and give their Names to the Steward. I went up and said *Matthew Bishop*, then we received our Allowance for two Days, went into the Boat and landed at *Rota*, where lay a Cannon which was dismounted. We looked on it, and took notice of it's being a very long one : and for Curiosity-sake I laid myself upon it with my Arms extended, and it was almost three Fathom long. Then we went to

the Town and waited till Evening, when the Army began their March. But one Thing we could not refrain our Eyes from, which was the *Spaniard*, who drove the Duke's Baggage; he had a Spado by his Side, and his Hair was tied behind with a Lint the same which Taylors cut off Cloth. That Morning the Sun shone very hot, and marching through the Vineyard we eat some Grapes, which made us very dry; and the Scarcity of Water enhanced it's Value. I heard a Crown bid for a Draught or a Quart. I remember we came to a little Pool, and were in great Raptures at the Sight of it. But there was so little Water in it, that we took particular care to avoid raising the Mud at the Bottom of it, and we thought it at that Time as sweet as Sack. The Soldiers, seeing us drinking, came with such Eagerness, that they ran into the Water and drank to Excess; and after they had filled their Bellies, filled their Canteens: I believe it was half Mud, but they said like us, it was as sweet as Sack. We had taken leave of this Pool but a little while before the *Spanish* Forces appeared; then our Army began to form and march in grand Divisions. I must own our Generals led on briskly; and when we came within half a Mile of the Enemy they fled, so we saw them no more. Then we Pioneers were ordered to go to *St. Catharine's Castle*, but we were preceded by a Summons, upon which it surrendered. Then we went towards *St. Mary's*. The Army had then halted. We were very desirous to know what the Town would afford. It was a Place
of

of but little Strength; for there was a Road went straight into the Street of the Town, upon which we had our Eyes continually fixed. At last my Resolution was to enter the Town; so I went with my Comrades, and we took with us Shovels, Cutlasses and Pistols, in order to defend ourselves in case of an Assault. Into the Town we went as bold as Lions, and began to taste their Wines. My Comrade and I went upon the Top of one of their Houses (I remember it was paved with Tiles) and look'd about us, when all of a sudden, to our great Surprise, the Pioneers began to run. We did not ask what was the matter; but I thought it best to make to the Company. Here I found it was the Duke of Ormonde and the Dutch General who had put them to the run. We were conscious to ourselves of having entered the Town before them without Orders, and were afraid of being punished. We saw them all ride into the Town; but we endeavoured to screen ourselves from their Sight. It was late before we had Orders to go in; each Squadron, and each Ship's Company were by themselves. We went into a House, with a Court at the back of it, and we filled the Rooms with Men, for we were obliged to lie Heads and Points, that there might be room enough: We got what we could to cover us and keep us from the Floor. In searching we accidentally found a Room where there were a great many Nets and old Sails lying upon the Ground. Amongst them I found two very good Jackets, and underneath I felt something

thing hard tied up close in a linen Bag. My Comrades saw I had got something of Value, for I could not conceal it from them. It contained sixty Pieces of Eight, and I gave a Fellow that was along with me five to say nothing of it. But instead of concealing he divulged it. I put some in one Pocket and some in another, so that all my Pockets had some, and when I had done laid myself down and had a very sound Sleep. I leave the Reader to judge whether my waking was agreeable: I had laid down with my Pockets full, but when I arose they were empty. This threw me into a very great Passion, especially with him that laid down with me and him that took my Bribe to keep my Prize a Secret. But when my Passion subsided I became very pensive, and seriously reflected on the Deceit of Mankind. Before this Accident I thought I could have confided in and even ventured my Life in my Companion's Hands. But now I resolved to be very cautious whom to trust for the future. As I could not have believed, had I not found it verified by Experience, that any Man could be so great a Rogue, from that Time I formed the Resolution of never being over and above intimate with any one, but to keep them at a Distance. A steady Observance of this gained me more Friends than ever.

After I was pacified, we went into the Town, where we found most of the Houses abandoned by the Inhabitants. Great Havock was made of every Thing, and we continued in the Town
till

of MATTHEW BISHOP. 11

till we had Orders to go against *Point Al Castle*: As soon as our Orders came we went and broke Ground in a dark Night. We had worked but a little while before we were discovered, by a Sea Officer's going too nigh the Castle which he imagined to be at a greater Distance from him. A Sentinel challenged him, and upon his making off fired; which gave a general Alarm. Immediately we had all the small Shot from the Castle and Cannon from the Gallies fired upon us, which made the Dust fly about our Ears, and we were obliged to work for the Preservation of our Lives. We had not dug above Knee deep when we were discovered, and the Guns from the Castle and Ships battered our Works down, and swept off our Men, five or six at a time, by one Ball. Our Commander, seeing we could do no good there, thought proper to break up the Siege, and all the Forces got to *Rota* where they embarked. When we were out at Sea we learnt that the *Spaniards* and *French* were got into *Vigo* with their Fleet: We thought proper to follow them to see what Preparations they had made for our Reception, and we found they had heard we were out at Sea and in Pursuit of them. So they had contrived and laid a Boom quite across the Mouth of the Harbour. It was made as strong as the Art of Man could devise with Cables, Hausers, Chains, Spars, Masts, Ropes, all bound fast together in one compact Body.

The Strength of this Boom did not discourage us, nor did we imagine it a Thing impracticable

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practicable to break it. Every Ship was in it's Station, and brave Admiral *Hopson*, Vice Admiral of the Red, was on Board the *Torbay*. He was a wise and valiant Man, had a distinct and just Apprehension of Things, and was extremely active and intrepid in the Execution of grand Enterprizes. He came full Sail against the Boom, broke it asunder and made room for himself, and every Ship to sail in in it's Station. The Enemy had a Fire-ship ready to welcome us, which clapt our Admiral aboard as soon as he entered the Mouth of the Harbour. His Sails were all in Flames in a Moment; but fortunately the Fire ship blew up sooner than the Enemy intended, to our great Joy; and by the Assistance of our Boats the Fire was soon extinguished. A *Dutchman* had the Honour to sink the Fire-ship's Boat which likewise occasioned a great deal of Joy. When the *French* and *Spanish* Fleets perceived the Fire-ship had done little Execution, they were in the utmost Confusion and Consternation. Some ran themselves on Shore, and others set their Ships on Fire with their Guns loaded. I took notice of it to some of the Officers and said, "*Gentlemen look here, out of the middle of the Fire comes Fire.*" When the Fire reached the Powder Rooms they blew up. Some Men of War we endeavoured to save, and some Galleons, which we intended to bring to *England*. I could not avoid reflecting on the Folly of Mankind, in chusing rather to lay violent Hands on themselves, than endeavour in their own Defence;
and

and in being driven to Despair when they find their Enemy superior in Numbers. Before we left the Place the Soldiers sacked the Town, and the Sailors the Harbour, and every Thing being effectually completed the Fleet set Sail for *England*. The very first Day we were out at Sea our Ship spied two Sail, and gave Chace. We came up with them a little before Night, fired two or three Guns, and they struck. Then we took the Prisoners on Board and put them in the Hold. The same Night we lost our Main-mast and Fore-mast, so that we were in a manner reduced to a Hulk. Next Morning we took our Booms and made Jury-masts. The *French* Officers and Sailors were very serviceable in contriving them, and we had great need of their Assistance. As our Ship was very much strained, she proved very leaky, so that at one Time we had four Feet Water in the Well. Another accident had like to have ruined us. A Shot fell into our Well, so that we could not work the Pump. This threw us all into the utmost Consternation; for we expected every Moment to go to the Bottom. For some time all our Endeavours to get it out proved in vain; at last a Man, remarkable for long Arms, pulled it out. This unexpected Relief dispelled our Fears, and our Joy was proportioned to our former Despair.

We staggered along to *Portsmouth*, as well as we could, constantly plying our Pumps Night and Day. When our own Crew were tired with this Fatigue, we were obliged to make

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make the Prisoners help us, placing Sentinels over them with Pistols and Cutlasses for Fear of their mutinying, for they were our superior in Point of Numbers. We had a great many sick Men. Only two or three out of the twenty Pioneers that went ashore with me, went out next Year; so their Service was at an end, but mine to come. Though this was but poor Encouragement for a young Sailor, yet I was determined to persevere in running all Hazards. I knowing myself to be of an undaunted Courage, thought myself on that account a fit Man for that Calling: For instead of a Fatigue I always thought it a Pleasure. While we lay at *Portsmouth* I grew very impatient, for I wanted to be employed in some noble Exploit. I had a craving Inclination with a strong Desire, to humble our Enemies, and bring down their high Spirits and lofty Looks. This stifled all Imaginations that might have come into my Mind, had I not been so well armed against them. Though there are Thousands who are not, especially those whose Weakness gets so much the better of their Passion, as to render them unfit for doing their Country any Service, their Resolution not being justly inclined to support the Honour and Dignity of our Crown and Kingdom, especially at this critical Juncture. These were my Thoughts, which I could not help divulging to most of the Men; observing the Weightiness of the Concern, this was my Method of proceeding till we set sail. The Men took it very kindly, and it created fresh Spirits in them.

C H A P.

C H A P. III.

*They leave Portsmouth, and chase a Ship into
Brest: Sail to Tangier: The manner of the
Moors engaging: Return Home: meet with
a Storm.*

IN 1703 we left *Portsmouth* and came to
Anchor at *Spithead*, where we waited till
we had Orders to go a Cruising. When we had
been out at Sea some Time we spied a Sail
and gave her Chace. She bore away for the Coast
of *France* and we made Sail after her as fast as
we could. She stood away for *Brest*, and we
came up within a Gun's Shot of her and fired
a Chace Gun, but we fired too soon, for we
lost Way and she gained; but we followed her
between the Land as far as we could, till the
Fort fired. Then we thought it high time to
leave off pursuing her, for it was impracticable
to fight against Stone Walls. So out to Sea
again we went, and the next Day we spied
another Sail from our Top-mast Head, and in
a little Time she was visible to all upon Deck:
She bore down towards us and we towards
them, for we saw that she had *French* Colours:
then down Chests and up Hammocks, a clear
Ship and all necessary Preparations was made
for an Engagement. But we were disappointed,
for when we came within Gun Shot we pulled
down our *French* Colours and hoisted *English*
and she likewise, so we found it to be the—
that had Orders to call us to join Sir *Cloudsley*
Shovel,

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Shovel, for he was out at Sea. Then Gentlemen, says I, "up Chests and down Hammock's," although I loved to hear the Voice of a Cannon, as well as some Men do the Sound of a Bell, and always loved to be in Action. They were all in good Spirits, and we sailed merrily along to join our Admiral.

The first Place we anchored at was near *Tangier*, on this Side the *Streights* Mouth: One Day, while we lay there the *Tangiereen* Horse were at Exercise on the Sands, in two Bodies about three Furlongs, as nigh as I can guess, distant from each other; and on a sudden a little Party came from each Body and rid very fast, till they met together, then they fired and wheeled each to their Troops. It was almost like our Foot Exercise in taking a Pass, only they did not march in a Body, but detached about Six from each Body and were like the *Hussars* for Swiftness. We weighed Anchor and went through the *Streights* Mouth. Capt. *Jumper* was then in the *Lenox*. The Duke's Men never had been through, so those that had proposed the others should pay a Bottle. There is no Obligation for it, only the Sailors make these simple Bargains amongst themselves, which often causes great Disturbances. The Officers spoke to our Captain about it, and I was glad to hear him say, he thought it beneath a Gentlemen to give into those foolish Things. And they found by this that the Captain would not comply with them. We sailed on and came to Anchor in *Altea* Bay and landed

ed the Marines, they stayed on Shore but a little while, before they came on Board again and were to go to *Leghorn* in *Italy*. Then Capt. *Jumper* and the other Ships went from us to *Smyrna*. We had Cruizers out but no Vessels appeared; and we said amongst ourselves, that we had swept the Sea clean. We had Reason enough to say so, for it was a long while since we had the Pleasure of saluting one, as for my part I began to despair of seeing another. I longed to be in Action, for my Nature was such that without it my Spirits fell; but when employed or engaged, it awoke those Spirits that were asleep, and instead of being cast down as Thousands are, they rose to such a Degree as to be equal to any. I thank God my Spirits never failed me, especially when there was any Thing to be done either by Engagement or Distress of Weather. When we came back from *Italy*, we had bad Weather, and our Fleet was separated in the Gulf of *Lyons*; the *Hampton Court* was missing for some Time, and we thought she was lost in the Storm; but it was not so bad as we imagined, for she appeared at last to the great Joy of our Fleet. We came through the *Streights* and cast our Eyes on *Gibraltar*, but little thought that we should be stationed there the next Year.

We cruized for some Time between *Sallee* and *Cadix*, and then went to *Lisbon*; where we lay at Anchor when the great Storm happened, with our Yards and Top-masts struck and our Haufers out, for we expected to drive
C from

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from our Anchors every Moment. We continued there till *Christmas*, when we sailed for *England*; and when we came within sight of Land we did not know it. Some said it was *Plymouth Sound*, others the *Ram head*, and others would ask where is the *Edystone*? But when we came near we found it was so, and we put into *Hamouze*. Here we learnt that we had lost a great many Men of War, and that the *Edystone* was blown down in the late Storm. We made our *Christmas* Dinner on fresh Beef, and Plumb Porridge; and diverted ourselves with observing that we had eaten two *Christmas* Dinners in one Year: For as I observed before we had eaten one at *Lisbon*. We put to Sea again and steered Eastward, and was in Company with the *Chatham* Man of War. That Night the Wind blew dreadfully, and we had our long Boat hoisted upon our Larboard side, which caused us to run to Leeward. We cut away against the *Isle of White*, and had extreme hard Work to weather *Dunnose* though we did weather it. We were obliged to moor Ship, and for three Days the Wind blew desperately; and by the Violence of the Wind and Assistance of our Oars, we got out of that deplorable Condition: But we were continually grabbling over board for fear we should drive. Though we had the good Fortune to get off clear, there was a *Græcian* that was lost at the Head of the *Downs*; and a *Dutchman* was drove on the *Goodwin Sands*: But as good Fortune would have it the Wind shifted and she
got

got off, though it was by the Providence of God rather than the Assistance of Man, and they would have been utterly demolished had it not been through his Help. We continued in the *Downs* till there was a fine soft Wind, then we came round to *Chatham*, and waited there till farther Commands.

C H A P. IV.

They join the Fleet under Sir Cloudsley Shovel, and sail to Gibraltar: The Taking of Gibraltar: They engage the French in the Mediterranean, and defeat them: They sail to Lisbon.

I N 1704 we left *Chatham*, and made the best of our Way to the *Downs*; where we lay till we received our Orders, and then we steered for *St. Hellens*, and from thence to *Torbay*, where we joined the Fleet that Sir *Cloudsley Shovel* commanded for Sir *George Rooke* was gone before with his Fleet, and the Duke of *Austria* in it. When our Fleet was got together we set Sail for the *Streights*, and met Sir *George Rooke* with his Fleet on this side the *Streights* Mouth. We joined him and sailed a little way up, and then returned and sailed into *Gibraltar* Bay. Then there was a Council of War held; and when they had determined what to do, they landed the Marines and the Prince of *Hesse* with them. Which being done the Boats returned to their Ships, and fifteen Sail were ordered to lye against the Town, un

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der the Command of Admiral *Bing*. Every Ship was in it's Station in a streight Line, ready for Command. The Prince of *Hesse* sent in his Summons for the Town to surrender, which they refusing, our fifteen Sail poured in their Shot to such a Degree as made the Houses shake, and I believe their Hearts quaked as much as the Houses shaked. We made ourselves Master of the new Mole, and they thought fit to surrender; which done every Ship went and anchored in it's Squadron. I could not help pleasing myself with what we had done, and one of the Officers asked me what made me so merry? I replied, Sir, I don't doubt but that we shall complete every Thing we undertake. Well, said he, I am glad to see you in such good Spirits, and wish they may continue. Sir, replied I, I don't question but they will, for I am under no Apprehensions. I am glad, says he, that we have got such a hardy Man amongst us that Nothing will daunt him. In a little Time we weighed Anchor and sailed up the *Streights*, and some of our Ships went to *T*—in *Barbary* to water. In the mean Time there were some of the *French* Fleet in View; the rest of our Fleet espied them, and the *Restoration* came to call us as we were watering, with her Top-Gallant-Sheet flying; they told us by a speaking Trumpet that the *French* Fleet was in View. Then we weighed as fast as possible, slung our Yards, down Chests, up Hammocks, and every Ship in it's Station, for there was a Signal for the Line.

Next Day Admiral *Leak* led the Van with his blue Flag at the fore top Mast-head. We were about fifty Sail of the Line of Battle; it was a beautiful Line, and would have cheered the Heart of any who loved their Queen and Country to have seen it. And the *French* were as beautiful. We sailed in the Morning till within Gun Shot, looking at each other. When Admiral *Leak* got up to their Van, Sir *George Rooke* fired a Gun, for every Man to be at his Post. Then at it we went, loading and firing as quick as possible. We were closely engaged, and for my Part I loaded twelve Times the eleventh Gun, in steering on the Starboard Quarter. And would have loaded more, had not I been prevented, by a Cannon Ball which cut our Powder Boy almost in two, and I thought it had taken my Arm off: For it took a Piece of my Shirt Sleeve, which caused my Arm, in a Moment, to swell as big as my Thigh. I went down to the Doctor and he put a red Plaister to it, and would have had me to have staid below; but I said I would go up and see how my Comrades sped, and do all I could as long as I had Hand or Leg to support myself. When I came up I found four of those I had left killed, and another wounded. I said to him that was wounded, I am sorry for your bad Success in this Quarter of an Hour's time. He shook his Head saying, I wish you better Success in all your Undertakings for I am a dead Man. Then I went to work, and as I could use my right Hand, my Business was to

stop the Touchhole whilst the other spunged it.

I continued in high Spirits, having no Apprehension of Danger, for when I came to be warm at it, it drowned all weak Imaginations; and I spirited up those that were faint hearted when they saw our Ship like a Slaughter House and they wallowing in Gore Blood. Though I have since thought that it made a very shocking Appearance, for we were very much shattered, which was visible to all the Fleet. Sir *Cloudsley* sent a Lieutenant, who when he beheld us, gave us his Voice with a speaking Trumpet, for to tow out of the Line. Our Captain's Spirit was too great for that, so he answered, that he would not stir out of the Line as long as his Ship would swim. Thousands would have been glad of such an Opportunity of getting out of Danger; but our Courage overcame our Fear, though we were much damaged: For they shot our Main and Fore-top Mast by the Board; and also splintered our Main-Mast, our Fore-Mast, and our Boltsprit and Mizzen, besides killing a great Number of Men, which, as I observed before, made our Ship like a Slaughter House.

I leave the Reader to judge whether we were much disabled or not; for we belonged to Sir *Cloudsley's* Squadron, and he ordered the *Tartar Pink* to lye pretty nigh us. By that we found they were in great Torture for us; and they expected, every Moment, that we should be swallowed up. I must acknowledge Sir *Cloudsley's*
Tenderneſs

Tenderneſs was very great, in ſending a Ship for our Safe-guard to take us in in caſe of the Ship's ſinking, which every one expected to be our Fate: Notwithſtanding we were ſo much diſabled we continued fighting as long as any, which was from Ten in the Morning, till Seven at Night; when the *French* thought proper to ſheer off for fear we ſhould make a greater Slaughter amongſt them. They were pretty much ſhattered, and I believe in the general more than us; which made them ſick of the Lay. So ended the braveſt Engagment ever known, ſince the Memory of Man. All the Officers behaved with Gayety, and their Actions were gallant. The Sailors were very diligent in obſerving their Commands throughout the whole Engagment.

When all was over, we went ſtaggering on in Order to get to *Liſbon*, to repair our Ship; for it was in a horrible Condition. As we were ſteering along, an Officer asked me, whether I was not the Man that was merry after the taking of *Gibraltar*? Yes, Sir, ſaid I, but you are not the Gentleman that enquired why I was ſo merry. He told me that Gentleman was killed in the Engagment. Sir, ſays I, I am ſenſible of it, and very much concerned for him. He was a good Officer, much of a Gentleman, and knew how to diſtinguiſh Mankind. Cheer up your Spirits, and do not let your Courage be caſt down, replied he, behave well and you will be well uſed. Sir, ſaid I, as to my Courage in regard to my Duty it was never damp't,

but I am still in Concern for so good an Officer as he was. Though he is dead, yet, said he, while I live you shall want nothing that I can help you to. I thanked him for his Civilities, and he told me, he should always respect me for his Sake. Thus we parted, and I was very well pleased to have so much Confabulation with one that might be of Service to me. We had more Conferences than I can remember, and he asked me whether in any Shape my Spirits failed me in that bloody Engagement? My Answer was. No, Sir, I was so intent on my Duty to my Queen and Country, that it took off all Fear or Dread that might possibly have hung upon my Spirits, for the Preservation of my own Life, had I not behaved vigorously. I like you, *Bishop*, said he, because your Courage exceeds all I ever saw. As for that, Sir, said I, you have seen my Behaviour, and I hope to continue in that Disposition of Mind. I beg of God that it may be durable; for while it continues with me I shall have Pleasure, but if it leaves me I shall find nothing but Difficulties. This Presence of Mind made me regarded by Mankind, and even the Officers liked to converse with me; and the Sailors were always glad to be in my Company. I always endeavoured to create Mirth where I was, and had so many pleasant Conferences, that made it an agreeable Voyage to *Lisbon*. We came to *Lisbon* and had our Ship repaired, for there were Orders for it to be done with all the Expedition imaginable. They went about it immediately, and a great many

many Hands were employed, in different Shapes, about it; but they were a long Time before they finished, and made her complete and fit for another Engagement,

C H A P. V.

The Spaniards besiege Gibraltar: The Author sails thither and is employed in the Defence of the Town: They carry their Prisoners to Lisbon: Hearing the French Fleet were at Gibraltar, they pursue them and take some Ships.

BEFORE they had finished repairing our Ship we heard the *Spaniards* had besieged *Gibraltar*. We made what haste we could and set Sail under the Command of Admiral *Leak*. The Morning we got thither, the *Spaniards* were discovered that came up the back of the Hill. Then there was a Command for Twenty of our Men to go on shore with fire Arms. I was glad to hear that I was pitched upon for one; and the Sailors, hearing that I was to go, were all eager for going. They knew me to be well versed in the Affair, as I had been upon a like Expedition before. When the Officers had determined who should go on shore, we got into our Boat, and made all the haste we could: For we had them continually in our Eyes. We were all in high Spirits and fit to do Execution, not being at all daunted at their Numbers; for they were like Swarms of Bees upon the Hill, and in great Confusion, and we like

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like Lions in the Valley, seeking whom we might devour; as our Duty required. At it we went, loading and firing as fast as we could. Our Men had a great Advantage of the *Spaniards* by firing up Hill, and it was a very great Advantage they were not obliged to wade; for the Water often overflows that part where we were obliged to engage them. We were happy enough in missing that Tide; had it been otherwise, we had been but in a bad Situation. The *Spaniards* rolled Pieces of Rocks down the Hill and wounded a great many of our Men, but our Advantage in firing was more than all they could do. When they found they could do no good they laid down their fire Arms. Col. *Bur* was a Man that had great Compassion on a Soldier, and would see that they were rightly dealt by upon all Occasions; and exerted himself as far as in his Power in his Queen and Country's Cause. I am sensible he behaved valiantly and loved to see his Soldiers courageous and bold in their Duty. We staid ashore all Night, and in the Morning returned to our Ship. They found the Duty was too hard for the Soldiers, and then there were Orders sent for ten Men of a Ship to go on Shore again. They knew I loved to go upon any Expedition whatever; and they loved to send me, because I was successful and brought them joyful Tidings to enliven their Spirits; when others were confused and did not know how to behave. It was a new Thing to them, but still I encouraged those that had any Apprehensions of Fear within

in them. For I observed to them, that let a Man be in what Station of Life he will, if he has not Courage to exert himself, he will never gain Applause.

When we went over we found that the Works were very much demolished, for there was not a Gun that we could fire one Day without it's being unfit for Service the next; for the *Spaniards* would dismount them. At *Will's* Battery I have seen the very Muzzles of our Guns broke with their Cannon Balls: the Round Tower was demolished, and the *North* Bastion; the Curtain that is between the Bridge and the *North* Bastion, they battered to such a Degree that a Coach and Horses might have gone through in several Places. We found the Duty extremely hard, for what they beat down by Day we were obliged to clear away by Night. There was one of our Men said to me, finding that the Work was as much as any Man could undergo, "*One had better be sacrificed, than be obliged to work Day and Night without Rest.*" This put me into a Rage: And I said to him, *I am surpris'd to hear any Man talk so madly, and without Thought: How can you rest when you are environed round with Enemies, that would destroy you in a Moment? I would not give a Farthing for the Man that dies under his Burthen. Don't you know that it is for the Preservation of your own Life as well as others? If you have not Courage to support your self I do not think you a proper Man to come into the Army, to help support your Queen for the*

good

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good of our Country. Upon my talking to him in this manner he began to reflect upon himself; and desired for God's Sake, that I would not mention any Thing to the Officers about him in Relation to what he had said, and he owned he deserved Punishment. I told him that I would take no Advantage of him in any Respect, but desired that I might never hear such Things come out of his Mouth any more. He said he would do his Duty as far as in his Power without any grumbling in the least. And after that he was a very good Man and mindful of his Duty. I observed that one might do more with good Words in persuading a Man from bad Inclinations, than by harsh Usage; and I was beloved for so doing by all that knew me. So after these Conferences we went to Work again, and made a Trench under the Wall lest they should storm us. Then we made a large Breast Work under the Bridge in the two Arches. They sent us a great many Bombs, once I thought they had sent us one too many; for I was at Work just in the Bastion, and there came one as swift as Lightning. I had much ado to get out of it's Way, for as soon as it fell, I fell by it; and found it was better so to do, than to step over it, for it blew up in a Moment, which made the Ground tremble. I was not above a Yard from it when it fell, and had I been so unwise as to have stood up when it fell, I should have been lifted up by it's Wings. I was hardened in that Employment, and a great many of our Men ran in a
terrible

terrible Fright, thinking that I was blown up. They said, when they saw me, we are glad to see you alive. I thanked them for their Regard for me, and told them I never minded a Bomb at all; only to observe it's falling and step out of the Way, and fall with my Face to the Ground, which I would advise you to do if ever they should drop near you; for it will prevent their Effect. They said, they were surprised that it did not hurt me, as I was so near it, and it killed a Man a Furlong off. I told them the Reason was this, that when a Bomb falls, it rises in a Moment again and ascends perpendicular, breaks and spreads to a great Distance; and when the Pieces of Steel fall they do great Damage and destroy Men at a great Distance. Wherefore I would have you always observe the Rule I have given you. They returned me a Thousand Thanks; and we continued making our Works by Night, and in the Day Time we were employed in drawing Guns from the new Mole to *Wills's* Battery.

We had very indifferent Ground some part of the Way, therefore we were obliged to draw in Gears, in the same Manner as Horses do. But when we came amongst the Rocks we were obliged to lay Deal Spars, and parbuckle them up with Hausers; and by these Means we haled them up to the Battery. When we had drawn all the Cannon up, and provided for our Safeguard, we divided the Prisoners equally, so that each Ship might have it's Share. When we had done we went merrily along, and every
Party

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Party went to it's Boat, to make for their Ships ; we had a Signal to be as expeditious as possible, so we rowed away for Life, as it was our Duty to do. When we came to the Ship there was nothing extraordinary to be done, only Orders to take the Prisoners to *Lisbon*. Some of the Officers asked me how I liked the Bombs flying amongst us? I told them it made us mind our Duty, and enlivened our Spirits; for if it had not been for something to divert us in the Night we might possibly have gone to sleep, but they kept us all awake. They asked us if we were not surpris'd when they came first? I told them I was not, though one fell down by me, and I dropped on my Face till it burst. They said I was very wise in so doing, and asked me how the other Men behaved? I told them they had a great Regard for me, for they ran as soon as they found it had done all the Damage it could, thinking I was blown up by it. But, to their great Surprize, they found me alive and not half so much frightened as themselves, and I told them how to act in case they should be in the same Danger ; for which they thanked me, and were so much enlivened that they became indefatigable, though their Duty was so hard as to be fitter for Horses than Men. The Officers were all very well pleased to hear their Men behaved so well ; and he that professed Friendship to me some time before, gave me somewhat to drink his Health when we came to *Lisbon*, for which I returned him Thanks. We had several other Conferences together,

gether, and I always thought myself as happy as any Man in the World when we were sailing. I was very well beloved amongst the Officers, and they were continually urging me to discourse of somewhat or other that was agreeable to them; and would often have me into their Rooms to converse with them.

We arrived at *Lisbon*, and lay there some Time, being all in good Health, and very merry while we were there; but for my Part I did not love a long Continuance in any one Place. I loved to be moving on some Expedition or other. This was my Inclination, and to my great Joy we heard that the *French* were in *Gibraltar Bay*. On hearing this we made all Expedition imaginable, and came to the *Streights Mouth*, and sailed up in such a Manner as struck Terror into their Spirits. They endeavoured to make their Escape from us, and we thought it hard that they should act as Recreants, to run away; and were in Hopes they would have kept their Station, that we might have made them sensible they were the Aggressors. Though they thought proper to make off, we thought we might possibly come up with them to give them a civil Salute; likewise to put them in Mind that we were obliged to visit them often, for fear they should forget us, which it's probable they would never have done had they staid 'till our Fleet could have come up with them. However some of our Fleet got to them, and they fired Starboard and Larboard, and made a good Defence for a great while,

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while, and exerted themselves as long as their Courage would let them. At last two were taken by the *Dutch*, one by the *English*, and two were so struck with Fear, that rather than engage us, they run themselves on Shore, and set them on Fire. But what a feeble Excuse must they give to their Master when he shall call them to Account for their ill Conduct, in destroying themselves, lest we should? And I could not avoid calling them Hen-hearted Blockheads for being terrified at the Sight of us.

C H A P. VI.

They go on a Cruise: Contrary Winds oblige them to half Allowance: Their Provisions almost spent, they arrive at Lisbon.

AFTER that we lay free from Molestation or Disturbance from them, and I began to think their *French* Courage failed them, and that they were tired of facing us by Sea. My Thoughts proved right: So we kept cruizing between *Malaga* and *Gibraltar*, and to the West of the *Streights* Mouth, 'till Provisions grew very short. The Wind was contrary to where we might recruit ourselves, and continued so a great while; which obliged us all to go to Half-allowance: Which the Providence of God directed us to do, otherwise we should all have been starved to Death. But his inestimable Goodness is over all those that acknowledge

knowledge him to be Lord of Hosts: He is infinitely pleased if he can bring Man to Repentance; and I thought, at that Time, that he laid his fatherly Hand upon us to try our Hearts. But had we had Hearts of Stone, it would have been enough to have made them yield; to have Destruction before our Eyes, which, without the Almighty's Assistance, must have been our Fate.

We continued in that deplorable Condition, on half Allowance, a great while, 'till we had almost eat our Provisions up; and we grew very feeble: I must needs confess my Courage sunk, and there were some that were not able to support themselves, especially those that used to love Eating better than Work. For when we had whole Allowance, and messed together, some Men would eat as much more as others; but when we came to half Allowance every one took care to have an equal Share. We kept steering backwards and forwards a great while, but could not perceive we gained Ground at all: 'Till providentially the Wind turned about again, to our great Joy and Comfort. There are but few that can comprehend the Hardships Mankind go through, unless they have been in the like: Neither do they know that Pleasure which overcomes all Fear and Dread. I must needs confess, I was as chearful as any under all Calamities, even Distress of Weather; which I count the most unpleasant Scene at Sea, and often causes Famine, the worst of Deaths. But I went through all these Scenes, depending on the Almighty's Protection; for I was always

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sensible that Man could not think a good Thought, nor do a good Action, without his Assistance. I likewise thought, if God is on my Side, I need not fear what Man can do unto me. These were the Thoughts that supported me, whilst others were in Torture and Pain, some through Fear, and others by Hunger.

Sometimes they would ask me, how I could be so chearful, while others were melancholy? I told them, my inward Man supported my Spirits, and caused them to flow, while others were starving. I must confess, when first we went to half Allowance, my Spirits were a little lower than usual; but I believe it proceeded more from being debarred my usual Quantity, than from Hunger: For, after some Time, I minded it no more than if I had had my former Allowance; it had no Effect on my Courage, neither did my Spirits sink any more during the Time of our coming to *Lisbon*. When we arrived there, our Officers took a very good Method in serving the Men their Allowance, to prevent Sicknes; for they one Day gave them whole Allowance, and next Day half; and continued this Method a great while. Notwithstanding all imaginable Care to prevent Illness, there were some of our Men, that had been used to eat as much more as others, eat that Day we had whole Allowance to such a Degree, and with such Eagerness, that they were like Swine. I used to tell them, that they had made a very hearty Repast: And some of them would be very sick after eating, and would

strive to hide their Sickness, by putting their Hands before their Mouths, and as it came up into their Hands, they would endeavour to swallow it again; and were very careful lest they should waste any of it, and, like Swine, returned to their Vomit. On my asking the Reason why they eat to that Excess, they told me, they had not half enough to satisfy them, and that they would eat twice as much the next Time that they had their whole Allowance. Let me advise you all, said I, to the contrary; for it is very prejudicial to your Healths: Therefore I would have you refrain from such a monstrous Quantity. Some said they would take my Advice, as they knew I never gave any that was hurtful: Others were obstinate, and would not comply with any Thing that was mentioned about Eating, though I told them that eating so very heartily, after living low, might throw them into a Fever, or give them a Surfeit in the Blood, that might not leave them soon. But nothing would do with obstinate Men, that were fond of their own Opinions, thinking every one Fools but themselves: Therefore I left off talking with them any more about it, only told them they would rue it. They continued in that Manner for about a Week or ten Days, when they began to be very much out of Order: Then some of them told me, they wished they had taken my Advice. As to my Advice, replied I, you did not think it worth observing, therefore your Sickness is of your own seeking: You

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can blame no body but yourselves, as you were resolved not to be debarred from Gluttony. I told you my Opinion voluntarily, and would readily advise any one for their own Good, if they are willing to receive it ; if not, it is only throwing Pearls before Swine. Don't you see those that have taken my Advice are very well ; and so might you, but your Obstinacy got the better of you, and now you repent ; but your Repentance won't make you better in haste : So I wish you well again, but am not a Doctor to cure you ; though had you taken my Advice, it would have prevented your Illness. One of the Officers asked me, why I gave myself the Trouble of tutoring such ignorant Blockheads ? Sir, I replied, it is a Duty incumbent on all Mankind to give Advice where it is required ; and to do it in a spontaneous, free Manner, oftentimes makes it more kindly received. *Bishop*, said he, I wish all Mankind were of your Way of Thinking. I wish they were, Sir, said I, for I have a great Inclination, please God nothing obstructs me, to go, after this Sea-fighting is over, and see how the Land-Men behave. I have an itching Desire to be with the Duke of *Marlborough* : I have heard what a noble Exploit he has done on the *Danube*, and it enlivens my Heart, to hear that we have a Man that is endued with such excellent Wisdom, Knowledge, and Experience, as to be esteemed of all Mankind. *Bishop*, said he, you speak very well of the Duke, and I find your Inclinations are with him. Sir, pardon me, said I, but

I, but I believe there will little or nothing more be done by Sea ; therefore I absolutely intend, when I have done my Duty by Sea, to go and struggle through the Land-Service ; and though I may be wandering up and down, like a Vagrant, yet I shall receive Pleasure in my own Breast in serving my Queen and Country, and shall not grudge to spill my own Blood for the Preservation of others. I think, said he, you continue in the same Resolution as ever ; and I wish it may last. Sir, replied I, I desire to live no longer than I can make good my Intentions and fulfil all my Resolutions. I have hitherto done my utmost Endeavours in our Navy, even in that great *Numachia*, when all our Fleet was in Action together : Though I receive nothing for it, yet I have a Pleasure in my own Breast, which will endure when Money will waste. *Bishop*, said he, I wish it was in my Power to do something for you, as I am sensible you are deserving of it. I returned him Thanks for the Liberty of so long a Conversation with him ; when he told me, he liked mine as well as any Officer's in the Army.

We continued at *Lisbon* so long, that I began to be weary of our Situation. Though we were merry enough and continually diverting ourselves with some new Inventions or other, yet I was not so happy in that Station as I should have been on some Expedition ; for I began to think it long since we had a Bout with them. I could not help thinking that the Sea-Service was almost at an End, as we had heretofore done

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such Execution as obliged them to sheer off; neither did I think they would venture to look us in the Face any more; which gave me the Pleasure of thinking that I should one Day see the Land-Service, and have Room to exert myself in extraneous Lands, when I had extricated myself from this Confinement. These were my Thoughts Day and Night, until I heard there were five Sail of our Ships ordered for *England*, which made me very desirous to know what Ships were appointed to go: I did not care where they were bound to, so they were but in Action; for I loved nothing on Earth so well as to be moving from one Place to another. I was some Time before I learned that our Ship was one of them which were to sail; which put me in such Raptures that I leaped for Joy. I likewise learnt that the Duke of *Schomberg* was to go with us in our Ship. Our Captain was Commodore; and he said to us, Boys, now I hope we shall have a good Voyage to *England*. I answered him, Sir, I hope it will be a successful one; for I would gladly meet with four or five *French* Ships, that we might give them a Salute in a handsom Manner; and had we once the Honour to be so near them, they might possibly be so enamoured as to go along with us. I wish, said he, we may have such good Luck; but, I believe, instead of being in Love with us, they love us best at a Distance. Sir, replied I, I have been of Opinion a great while, that they are sick of the Lay; and don't think we shall have any Thing extraordinary done at Sea: Not-with-

withstanding they are afraid to face us, yet they continue their Spite against us, and are facinorous and villainous enough to destroy us behind our Backs, unless we keep a Guard over them; but I believe a trifling Guard will be sufficient to strike Terror into their Breasts, and prevent those villainous Proceedings which they would be guilty of. They would be guilty of every thing that is bad, were it in their Power. *Bishop*, said he, but they are obliged to acknowledge us Masters of the Sea, and are afraid of attacking any Thing in our View: Our Men are active and vigorous, which prevents their triumphing over us. Sir, replied I, I am glad to hear your Observations in regard to your Men; it shews your Respect to them; and I believe you are sensible they behave well and deserve it.

We sailed from *Lisbon* with the Duke and all his Baggage, and convoyed some Merchant Ships to *Port*, where we took some more under our Convoy, and made the best of our Way to *V****; there we encreased the Number of our Merchant-Ships, so that we were a brave Company, and sailed along merrily, having a very pleasant Voyage all the Way. While we were sailing, the Wife of one of the Duke's Gentlemen was delivered of a Child; which, being so uncommon a Thing at Sea, caused a great deal of Mirth, and the Gentleman gave somewhat amongst us to drink the Child's Health. So we past the Time merrily, and I took an Opportunity the first Time I saw the Child's Father, and observed to him, Sir, as the Al-

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mighty has thought proper that the Seas should produce you a Son, pray let it be his Profession, and you need not fear but his Calling will be agreeable to his Constitution; his Actions will gain him Honour and Applause, and you may congratulate him on his Success. The Man was struck dumb for some Time; I thought he was afraid of uttering his Words; at last his faint Speech came out, and he said, I intend my Son for a better Use, especially more to my own Satisfaction. Sir, pardon me, said I, as to a better Use, it is impossible; for it is so honorable a Calling, that the Sons of Kings and Queens follow it: Therefore I would not have you despise that Calling by which the Hand of God is leading you to a Place of Safety. He left me without Reply; therefore I took him to be a proud, stubborn Man, that was above speaking to any below himself. He was offended, and would not accept of any more of my Confabulations, neither would he let me see him during our Voyage to *England*. I was very sorry to give any Offence by innocent Discourse, for I did not mean to offend him in the least, but only to pass Time away. If we were confined from talking, we should be very unhappy; but our Tongues are at Liberty to speak our Sentiments, provided we do not apply them rudely: I would have all Men to know their Distance; and though a Man may have the Favor of his Master's Conversation sometimes, yet I would not have him grow upon it, and take offensive Liberties,

When

When we came to *England*, we landed the Duke and all his Company and Baggage at *Deal*: As we were taking the Gentleman, his Wife and Child into the Boat, to set them on Shore, I could not help making myself known to him, and said, Sir, I hope you will pardon me for what I observed to you about the Child, some time ago; I meant no Harm, neither would I persuade any one against their own Inclinations: But without Doubt, Sir, you are sensible that all Mankind are apt to speak well of their particular Callings. It is very true, replied he, what you speak in relation to Mankind; though, I must confess, I was displeased at your Application to me in that Manner: But, as you acknowledge the Nature of the Thing, I forgive you. After I had pressed him in that Manner, I found by his Looks, that he began to reflect upon himself, and made an open Confession at last; and when we came on Shore, he gave me a Bottle of Wine, and after we had drank it, we parted good Friends. I returned to the Ship, and we made the best of our Way to *Chatbam*, where our Ship was condemned, and the Men turned over, some on board the *Breda*, and some to the *Ipſwich*. For my Part, I was to go on board the latter, against my Inclinations, for I had a Fancy to go on board the *Breda*: I continued very uneasy, because I had more Value for the Captain of the *Breda* than for him with whom I was; not that I had taken any Antipathy, only that I had some Knowledge of the other; therefore from that my Inclinations

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clinations or Veneration arose. After I had placed my Respect there, nothing would satisfy me till I had accomplished my Desire; which I did in a very strenuous Manner. I was obliged to be very active in my Proceedings; had I not, I must have continued in the Place first appointed, but I left no Stone unturned while it was in Agitation. There was no Time to delay; our Ship was ordered to go a cruizing; therefore I applied myself in the following Manner: As I was unacquainted with the Captain, I made all the Intercession I could with all the other Officers, to speak to the Captain in my Behalf, and they were so kind as to do it: The Captain's Reply was, as they told me, Gentlemen, I have had a very good Character of this Man, that he is the best Man that ever went into a Ship, and will be of more Service to me than twenty others; therefore I am unwilling to part with him. The Officers then were so kind to observe, Sir, the Man is seemingly very uneasy, and if he should go against his Inclinations, it is possible he may not prove so good as you expect; therefore, was the Case ours, we would let him follow his Inclination, especially as he has pushed for it so strenuously. Then he told them, that, since my Desire was so strongly bent on going, that in two or three Days he would consider of it. The Officers were so kind as to tell me this Discourse, which gave me Hopes of accomplishing my Design; but I had much rather the Captain had not received any Character of me, for his receiving it in that
Manner

Manner made it reasonable to think he would be unwilling to part with me. Wherefore I said to the Officers, Gentlemen, the Captain has received a better Character of me than I deserve. I had scarce spoke the Words, when the Captain came, and asked me the Reason why I was not willing to continue with him? Sir, pardon me, said I; I have taken no Antipathy against any belonging to the Ship, but as I have set my Heart on going in the other, I beg the Favour of you to be so kind as to relinquish the Power you have over me: Not that I want a general Release from the Queen's Service, but only to be turned over to where my Inclinations lead me; for I would rather suffer——than be disappointed, and would rather undergo the greatest Hardship Mankind could inflict on me, than comply with what is not agreeable to me. The Captain left me, and said he would consider of it. Then I thought it high Time for me to consider, and could not help reflecting thus. Oh Man! what have you been doing, that your Servitude will not gain you such a small Spark of Friendship as this is? Had I been guilty of Indifference, or Carelessness of Behaviour, or Indiscretion in making or being guilty of Drunkenness; had I been, possibly I might have received greater Favor; for it plainly appears, that Mankind will prefer the indifferent Servant before the diligent.

These and many other Reflections occurred to me, thinking that the upright Man must be oppressed while Indignity will flourish. After
some

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some Time the Captain asked me if I continued in the same Mind? My Answer was, Sir, my Mind is not subject to Change, it is stedfastly fixed and I shall always continue in the same Disposition. Well, said he, since you are endued with such Resolution of Mind, take this Letter, and go to the *Breda* and give my Service to the Captain: This put me in great Raptures, I returned him Thanks, and made the best of my Way to the Ship. When I came there the Captain said he was glad to see me, I thanked him and said, I was overjoyed to see him, though it was with great Difficulty that I obtained that Favour, for they were unwilling to part with me. I thought as much, said he. Why should you think so, Sir, said I? He has had no Trial of me. Though he has not, replied the Captain, undoubtedly he has heard of your Character. Sir, said I, I am sensible of it. Then, said he, that is the reason of your Detention, and he would have kept you by Force if it had not been for Devoir, or the Rules of Civility and Reason which all Mankind ought to observe. After this Conference I was very well assured that I had accomplish'd my Design. I think proper to observe, that had I went against my own Inclinations from one of the most active Men in the World, I should I believe have become the greatest Drone; neither do I think I should have been able to exert myself in any Thing, but should have been like a Lump of Lead: And not having Spirits enough to support myself, how is it possible I should help to sup-
port

port others? And this is the Case of most that are forced against their Inclinations. I will venture to say that fifty Men that are vigorous will do more Execution than two hundred Drones. It is often seen in press'd Men that they are stubborn and sulky, and ready to comply with any Thing that is villainous. I have known Men that have been ready to go into foreign Service, rather than serve under a particular Man; though it was my daily Endeavour to turn their Hearts, and I had very good Success in so doing; for had I not spirited up our Men that were backward in exerting themselves, instead of defeating others we might have been defeated. For this Reason I would have no Man obliged to do any Thing but what he does spontaneously; for then there is no Question but he will be vigorous in his Proceedings, and it will render him capable to exert himself when required. But others are inert, and useless, and can effect nothing but their own Destruction. Therefore there ought to be proper Means used to bring such Men into the Army as are given to Industry and indefatigable, for there is no Good comes of slothful Men, neither are they fit for any Thing but to continue Vagrants as they are. There is another Thing I would observe, which is, that Parents should study the Disposition of their Child before they put him Apprentice, and see whether he be inclinable to such a Calling or not; lest, like myself, he should be bound to a Trade which he dislikes, though I had Resolution

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tion enough to continue my Apprenticeship but; but when I was out of my Time, I could not confine myself to my Business, although my Friends set me up with a very good Stock, and had I not had an utter Aversion to it I might have made myself very happy: After some Time I left off my Business and was changed to a roving Disposition of Mind, living on what I had, till there was talk of a War. Then I resolved to go, and liked it extremely well; though it might have been Thousands in my Way had I continued my Business, but no one could persuade me from throwing away the Flower of my Youth in the Queen's Service. But though I did so well, there are Thousands that get into bad Company and meet with an ill End; which is the Fruit of all those that complot together amongst Rogues. This a Youth oftentimes too readily complies with, especially, if he be crost by his Parents, therefore he throws his Resentment on himself, and will not give Attention to any Advice of his Friends; but is fully bent on his own Ruin. Another Thing which I think proper to observe, is with Relation to Servants; for I would not have any one, through any Persuasions whatever, go to Service unless he goes spontaneously: If a Servant goeth with a good Will, the Master will have a good Servant of him; otherwise they give no Attention to their Duty, but do every Thing with Indifferency, till at last the Master perceives it, and discharges them from his Service without a Character; when the poor Man lies lurking
about

about till he has spent his Money and can't get any Business; for none will employ him if they know him to be a Gentleman's Servant because they have the Character of idle Fellows; so the poor Creature being drove to Indigence, Necessity, the Mother of Invention, will do any Thing rather than starve; and being drove to their last Shifts, there are enough ready to back them to their own Destruction, Life is sweet and Plenty comfortable; though perhaps their Inclinations before were not inclinable to Ill: For Indigence oftentimes obliges Men to do that which otherwise they would not have done. And some Men are so fond of oppressing, that they will even make their Brags of their villainous Proceedings without any Remorse of Conscience.

C H A P. VII.

They go on a Cruise and meet with a Storm: The Author goes on board the Fox Man of War: They go on a Cruise to the Bay of Biscay and the French Coast, and from thence to Ireland to get more Men.

WE set out and sailed Westward, and kept cruising a great while without meeting with any Thing to exert ourselves: I longed to be in Action, and was afraid that we should forget how to behave ourselves, as it was so long since we were engaged, I used to walk backwards and forwards, and on a sudden would stop

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stop and lay hold of a Gun, and say to myself, Oh! was I but exercising you, I would make our Opposers tremble: And I promised myself should we meet with any we should shew them what Metal we were made of: Even I thought were all of my Resolution we should be strong enough to engage four times our Strength. For I always told our Men it was not the Body but the Courage that repelled. It was a great Sign our Enemies were struck with Fear, or else we should have perceived something of them, nay we even searched all the Creeks we could in expectation of something, but in vain; therefore I could not help saying to the Captain, Sir, this is as fruitless a Cruise as I had up the *Mediterranean* in Pursuit of the *French* and *Spaniards*, therefore I have but little Pleasure in it. He replied, *Bishop*, I am very sorry that it happeneth so, for I should be glad to meet with something to see how active you all are. Sir, said I, you need not question, if we have the good Fortune to meet with any Thing, but our Actions will be vigorous. We had a pretty long Conference together about our fruitless Cruise: My Captain was a very easy familiar Gentleman, and was always ready to hear an Inferiour, which gained him the Love of all, and should have been glad of an Opportunity to have helped to gain him Honour. It was my Temper even to lay down my Life to serve those that are worthy of Honour; and I believe I shall always continue in the same Mind, for nothing ever affected me, in regard to Mankind, to deserve my Hatred.

Therefore I have a Pleasure in my own Breast, as likewise an undaunted Courage that nothing will strike with Fear.

As we were cruising about we met with a Hurricane, in which we lost our Main top Mast; so that after the Storm was over we could not make any Way. But fortunately the *Worcester* Man of War was near us, and took us in Tow. Yet we were a long time before we reached *England*, when we put into *Hamouse* at *Plymouth*, and there we eat our *Christmas* Dinner with good Appetites, for fresh Beef and Plumb Pudding was a Novelty to us: I continued there a little while waiting for Orders. Before we had any Orders I observed to the Captain, that I hoped he would have better Success in his next Cruise, for, said I, we have done nothing to deserve your Commendations in this, neither have you had any Example of us; and without Trial it is impossible you should know how I could exert myself: had any Thing been in my Way I would have shewed an Example that others might have followed. *Bishop*, replied he, I should be glad of the Opportunity, and could not help having Anxiety at being so unfortunate as not to meet with any Thing. Then I told him, that I would go into the *Fox* and see what I could meet with there; he said I should have his Prayer go where I would, for I was a merry Fellow, so we parted.

In 1706 I went into the *Fox* and was very kindly received by all the Officers, who said to me, you shall be very well used in our Ship,

for we have heard your Character, and if any Thing happens you shall have the Chance of it; therefore we would have you continue the same Resolution as usual, for we have had a Value for you ever since we have heard of your Behaviour; and we find that you was agreeable to the whole Ship from the highest to the lowest, and that the Sailors observed your Instructions and would comply with every thing you desired, therefore we are glad to have such a Man amongst us that can win the Hearts of all; and if you behave as well as you have done heretofore you shall want no Incouragement, I told them, they need not question but my Behaviour would be the same to all Mankind, and as for the Sailors, I thought it was a Duty incumbent on me to give Advice to those that were inclinable to be vicious; therefore I took upon me to reprove those Men lest they should err, and by their Means we might be drawn into Errors; and that I thought it was my Duty to my Queen and Country to be agreeable to all. When our Discourse was almost over, and I had found out the Gentlemens Tempers, I said, Gentlemen, I hope we shall meet with something that I may shew you my Dexterity, and you shall see how your Men will exert themselves; I believe there were none of your Men at the great *Numachia*; I believe they are most fresh Water Sailors, but if I continue amongst them I shall make them salt Water Sailors; and they shall not want for Instructions if they are capable of receiving any, and I will do my Endeavour to
make

make them as bold as Lions when they come to face their Enemy. So I thanked them for their kind Reception, and we parted.

Soon after we went a cruising on the Coast of *France*, and from thence to the *Bay of Biscay*, where the Sea ran Mountain high; and some of our Men, whom I called fresh Water Sailors, were in great Torture. I must confess it was a surprising Tornado, and there were Orders for the Masts to be struck, to lower the Sails and down with the Yard-Arms: So we put our Ship in a Posture of Defence against the Sea and receiv'd no Damage. Then I said to those that were in Torment all the while the Tornado continued, Gentlemen, I am much surpris'd to see you all in such Agonies at so trifling a Thing as this is; had you been with me in the *Mediterranean* you would have thought all nothing; for I have seen Clouds of Water even cover the whole Ship, and was never struck with so much Fear as you are now. Therefore do not let your feeble Courages be cast down; for if you continue at Sea as long as I have, you will go through ten times worse Storms than this: And a Sailor should never be afraid of any Thing the Sea can produce; for if your Fear once gets the better of your Courage, you will be of no use at all: Therefore I would advise you as a Friend to reflect upon yourselves. With this Application I found they began to revive, and told me they thought it could not be worse than this was, but since it were so they need not have been under such

Apprehensions of Danger. You may be assured, replied I, that what I say is right, I will not deceive you nor any one else. When our Discourse and the Tornado was almost over I found they began to be intuitive; but was afraid they would be inconsolable, they were in such great Torture, wishing they had never come to Sea. I thought some of them would have jumped over board, for they were just like Madmen, so that I had enough to do to pacify them; though I thought nothing a Fatigue that I could accomplish, in endeavouring to do any one a Piece of Service: for as I always thought it my Duty, it was a Pleasure to me, and I would detect Things that would be a Detriment to them, in case I found them of a placable Temper. This was my Manner of Behaviour to my Companions, and they would often acknowledge my Civilities to them: And I must confess that I never advised any Man but he complied with me, and I never thought much of my Time.

When the Tornado was over, and every one easy, we steered for the Isle of *Scilly*, and when we came there we lay at Anchor for a while, for our Captain lov'd to be cruising from one Place to another. He seemingly was a very active Man, and I believe long'd to be in Action as much as I did; for he often told me he was afraid that I should have no Opportunity to exert myself. Sir, replied I, I said some time ago that we had swept the Seas clean, and now I think my Observation is made out: Therefore
after

after this Cruise, if we should not light on any Thing, I will decline going to Sea any more, for it makes me excessive dull and stupid to have nothing to enliven and raise our dead Spirits. I think we might as well be dead as without Action; we had not used to be so long without some Exploit, and I believe I shall never be happy till I can help to perform some noble Atchievement or other; for my Inclinations are to humble the proud Spirits of our Enemies; for I must needs confess it is our own Faults that they triumph over us: For we are endeavouring to enrich our Enemy's Country by impoverishing our own, and are so unwise as to encourage them in every Thing, to the Discouragement of our own People: For an *English* Servant, Taylor or Peruke-maker can't please the Gentlemen, nor an *English* Milliner the Ladies: and for Fashions we are intirely oblig'd to *France*. This makes our Natives dispirited and disconsolate, while their Ambition is to destroy us. I am surpris'd such wise Men as we have in *England* can't detect the Thieves that pick their Pockets, even before their Faces: Either they cannot or will not see them. I hope, Sir, says I, you will excuse this Freedom, and I'll to work. — Accordingly to weighing our Anchor we went, and sail'd up the Channel and anchor'd at *Torbay*: We lay there but a short Time, and the Captain thought it was not to our Advantage to lie idle a Moment longer than was necessary; therefore he ordered us to weigh again, which we did with

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a great deal of Pleasure. I was glad to see our Captain so brisk in forwarding us, for he said, I desire you will be as expeditious as possible, which we were, and then kept cruising about for a considerable Time but could not hit on any Thing; which made me think us very unfortunate. We put into *Catwater*, and just as we had cast Anchor the Weather began to be extremely rough, and we expected to drive every Moment: to prevent which we carried a Cable and fastned it round the Rock, which was a Security to us against the Severity of the Weather. Some of our Men were backward in going into the Boat to carry the Cable; I said I would go, and then they were eager of going; thinking they should share the same Fate as I did. But just as we came to the Rock two of them fell over board, when fortunately a large Wave drove them to us, so we haled them into the Boat; but they were above half an Hour before they recovered; so we fastned the Cable without their Assistance, and just as we had done they fell a vomiting prodigiously. I said to my Companions, now I find they will do again, for their Bellows begin to play, which causes Sicknes: they will throw up all the Salt Water and be well again presently, and according as I observ'd it happened. Then I asked them whether they remembred any Thing when they were pulled out of the Water, or when they were in the Water? They answered they remembred falling into the Water and struggling for some time with great Torture, till the
Water

Water overcame their Spirits; then they felt nothing, neither did they remember being pulled out of the Water. I hope, says I, you will acknowledge you were in the Jaws of Death, till the Almighty thought fit to restore you by the Direction of a Wave, (for they could not swim). We went to our Ship again, and the Men were not for our telling it, though it was impossible but the Men in the Ship must see it, which they did; and began with us, asking how the Men happen'd to fall over board? We said as it was, that they sat together very carelessly, and as we were near the Rock a Wave nearly overwhelm'd us, and they pull'd each other in; and the Rolling of the Waters took them out of our Sight, till a Wave came and drove them near us. Had I not been very brisk they would have drove against the Rock, but we took hold of them as they came by. They were very much delighted that we had such good Fortune to save their Lives unexpectedly, but Providence was their Deliverer.

When the Storm was over we cruis'd towards *Ireland*, and put in at the *Cove* at *Cork*. As soon as we were settled we had an Order to go on shore to press Men, and a pretty large Body of us went. I, knowing that the greatest Part of us were licentious Men, was afraid if we went all together we should do no good. Therefore I made a Proposal to them, but had a long Conference before I could get the licentious Men to comply; but at last I accomplish'd it and endeavour'd to get those with me that were li-

beral and facetious, and could make any thing agreeable that we should meet with. The Men I chose were placable and could put up with an Affront. When we were agreed we divided into two Bodies, and they went in at one Part of the Town and we at another. Then I said to our Company, I don't doubt but we shall get twice the Number of Men that they do, if you will be conformable, and of one Way of thinking; for we shall do no good if there is any Repugnancy or Division amongst us. They said they would comply with any Thing that I thought right. I could desire no more, only said, I hope you will have Resolution enough to keep your Words. They said, I might depend on them. Then I said, I have a Mind to see what good Usage will do, for I have a Notion it will do more than rough; if not, we can but compel them at last. I know Mankind don't love to be compelled to any Thing. I think it will be proper to go to one of the best Inns and have a Pint of Wine each Man, which will revive us and make us fit for Business, and when we are there we will consult how to act. While we were drinking I said, those that can play on any sort of Instrument I would have you provide yourselves. Then one of the Men belonging to the Inn came to us, and we desired him to get us a Fiddle, Hautboy and a pair of Bag Pipes. When we had got them we went just out at the Door, and they played and we danced for a considerable Time, till most of the idle part of the Town came to visit us, which was
what

what we wanted: Then we called for a Bottle
 of Wine to drink the Queen's Health. We drank
 a Glass apiece which emptied the Bottle, and
 sent for another. I said to the Populace, see
 how we live my Boys! with our Pockets full of
 Money to support us while you are starving. I
 am surpris'd you that are indigent never think
 of going to Sea, for several make their Fortune
 by going; and such clever young Men as you
 are need not fear gaining something advanta-
 geous for yourselves, if you could persuade some
 body or other to take you. O Lord! says the
 Men, there was a Press Gang up in the Town
 but we made our Escape from them, so we
 should not find it a Difficulty to get in. Ay,
 my Boys, said I, but it is a great Favour to get
 in, because those that are permitted to enter vo-
 luntarily are better looked on than press'd Men;
 for the Officers will shew them Respect while
 the others are confined like Prisoners, so that
 none that are wise will put it in their Power to
 press them; for there is a wide Difference be-
 tween being press'd and going Volantier. A
 Press Gang take all without Exception, and
 treat them with very rough Usage. Therefore
 if any of you young Men have a Mind to go,
 not that I would advise you against your Inclina-
 tions, but if you are determined to go I would
 have you go voluntarily. They answered, if
 they did go they would go all together: I then
 called for another Bottle, and gave each of them
 a Glass, being glad to hear their Intimation;
 and thinking good Living would be a great In-
 ducement,

ducement, I took them into the House, and gave them a cold Buttock of Beef stuffed. They eat and drank very hearty, and were worth taking Pains with, for they were nine clever young Men, and seemingly very fit to make fine Sailors. When they had eat and drank what they thought proper, they said they had never fared more to their Liking in their Lives. I told them nobody lived better than we did. They replied, they wished they could go in a Ship without being pressed, and be well used, they would go with as much Pleasure as they had eat that Dinner. I could desire no more, for I was sensible they had eaten their Dinner with a good Appetite. I said to them, since you are so inclin'd, I will endeavour to make Interest to get you all into our Ship if I can, if not, you shall return as you came; but there is another Thing, I will not take you if any of you think you shall reflect on me for it; I assure you I do it for your Good. They promised me they would not, and that they should be glad to go with me. Upon that I engaged them and took them all along with us to the Ship, where they were very kindly received: And I observed to the Men that were with me, now you have found every Thing that I said is come to pass; and that good Usage will always carry the Point. Soon after the other Party came and brought three clumsy Fellows as ragged as Colts.

When we were all together the Officers asked us, why we did not go in a Body together?

Sir, I replied, it was an Agreement among ourselves, therefore I hope you are not displeased at it: For had we gone together there would have been no Good done; for instead of following and intimating their Minds to us, we should intimidate them, as several of them saw the Press Gang and shunned them. And as I found some of our Men were licentious and ready to dispute whatever I proposed, I could not be easy till I had separated them: For I was always of Opinion that whatever Expedition Men undertook, if they were not thoroughly agreed how to proceed, they must expect nothing but Destruction; for a House divided against itself cannot stand. And I believe that they are now thoroughly convinced that I was right; for they say they are sorry that they did not follow my Directions, which they said would have been the chief Instrument to have done Business. Sir, if you please to give me leave I will make a Comparison: had there been such a Repugnancy at the great *Numachia*, or any Atchievement whatever, it would have been but small Recompence after Thousands were sacrificed through the Power of some hot headed Men that will not be conformable to Counsel, but will persist in their Obstinacy to their own Destruction; which is the Fruit of all stiff-neck'd People that are so fond of their own Opinions as to think none so wise as themselves. *Bishop*, said he, I like your Comparison very well, and think that where Life depends hot headed Men should not be concern'd. He left me and I observed by his

his Speech that he had a Feeling of Humanity in him, which caused me to have a greater Regard for him than before; and at that Time I would have gone through Fire or Water to have served him, and would even have laid down my Life for those that had a feeling Tenderness for Mankind. Soon after he left me, there were Orders to weigh Anchor, and we were commanded to go to *Waterford* to press more Men. When we came there the Captain ordered twelve Men to go on Shore, and I was pitch'd on for one: For my Part I always loved to be employ'd, and did not care how they disposed of me so that my Blood was but in Motion; and when I knew what I was going about my Heart was continually inventing some new Stratagem, that might be agreeable to the Company I was with. The Men that were with me said they would comply with any Thing that I thought right; I thanked them, and said I would think as well as I could, and since we must have Men I would do my utmost Endeavour to bring them into our Company. Then we all went into an Ale-house and made ourselves cheerful that we might have Spirits to exert ourselves. Here I asked the Men that were with me whether they would like to play at Football, which I proposed because they were very active young Men. They agreed and we made the Match for a Crown a Man. It was just at the side of the Town that we played, and were not long before we had Company enough to visit us, which was the Thing I wanted. We played a considerable

able Time before our Game was up, and the Company we had was innumerable. Some said they would play with us; I was glad to hear that, and said we are twelve of us, and will play with the best Men you can pick out of the whole Company for what Money you will. On my saying that it was not long before they got twelve Men in Opposition to us. I must needs say they were well made Men, and very fit for what I intended. They were for playing immediately, but I desired they would excuse us till we had drank a Pint of Beer each Man, and if they would favour us with their Company, they should have part of it, and then we could make our Agreement what to play for. They were not for going till I told them that I was excessively dry; and that we would not stay above a Minute. With that they said they would, which I was very well pleased with. When we came to the Alehouse we called for a Gallon of the best strong Beer they had, and as we were a large Company we would have the biggest Room in the House. When we had drank about three Gallons they were for going. I desired they would stay and help to drink another and then we would all go. While we were drinking the last, I asked them some Questions, whether they were married, what Business they followed, and whether they ever had any Thoughts of going to Sea? They answered, they were none of them married, nor had they any such Thoughts, as they took the Sea to be fit only for those that could not get Bread by Land. I was glad to hear

hear that they were all single Men, because I promised myself never to disappoint the Wife of her Husband. I had much rather disappoint the Farmer, or any other Master, of his Man, than destroy the Marriage-Bed. Had I done that, I should have deserved the Curse of the Wife; but my Endeavour was to deserve the Curse of no one, if I could any ways prevent it. I was obliged to be severe with these Men, because I found them obstinate: I said to them very mildly at first, Gentlemen, you all told me you were not married, otherwise I would not have desired the Favour of you; her Majesty wants Men, and you are all fit Persons to be recommended into her Service; therefore I would have you all go voluntarily along with us, and you shall be well used. With that they fell into a great Rage, and used very abusive Words, saying, is this your Foot-ball Match? with a great Oath. I had tutored our Men before, in case they should be resolute. They were for getting out of the Room, but I prevented them, by locking the Door and putting the Key in my Pocket. Then I said to our Men, Now, my Boys! Then we began Battle Royal. Every one of us had short Sticks, and we rib-roasted them pretty handsomly, till they were as cool as Lambs. For my Part, at that Time I had Spirits enough to beat any two of them, though I was but a Stripling; for, as I have often observed, it is not the Bulk of a Man that doth Execution. When we had satisfied them with Stripes, we called for another Gallon

Gallon of strong Beer; we took it in at the Window, and drank round: Then I desired them to be contented in their Stations, as the Queen's Sailors, and if any of their Genius's could arrive at any Thing better, they should be encouraged. And likewise I desired to know whether they would go Volunteers; for if they would, they should be well used; if not, I would send for a Cart Rope, and tie them all together, when they would find a great deal of Difference: Therefore I advised them to consider of it, for I was determined to do as I said: And told them they should be all taken as Prisoners; but if they were affable, a Hair of their Heads should not be touched; and that they should have all the Liberty that in Reason they could desire; and that I would endeavour to make them complete Sailors, if they would follow my Directions; for that nothing should be wanting, that accrued to my Knowledge, in serving them.

After a long Conference to this Effect, I had the good Fortune to prevail with them to be Volunteers, which gave me a great deal of Pleasure; and instead of running from us, they brought several others along with them, and they were all very well reconciled to us, and returned to our Ship very merrily, where they were kindly received. Here I said to them, My Boys! you will have no Reason to complain of the Officers, for they are very civil Men, and will encourage you, if you behave well; and I will be as good as my Word, in instructing of you. I then went down to the Captain's Cabin,

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bin, and told him all our Proceedings. He said I was the luckiest Man he had ever met with, and gave me an handsom Acknowledgment, desiring I would keep it; but as I thought those with me had as good a Right as my self, I therefore distributed it amongst them. They said, Pray God bless the noble Captain! So he had their Prayer, though it was my Gift; but I had much rather their Regard should be for their Officers than for myself, for from Something comes Something; but they could not expect any Thing from me but Advice, and that they were always welcome to. I never thought my Time idly spent in conversing with them, especially if I could reform them; for I thought it a Duty incumbent on me to do so. The Officers were exceeding well pleased at our bringing so many clever young Men; and the Captain said, As you have had such good Success in both these Places, I think it will be right to make the best of our Way to *Dublin*; for it is possible, that being so large a Place, you may get a brave Parcel together. I replied, Gentlemen, since it is your good Pleasure to send me upon these Expeditions, I will do my utmost to serve my Queen and your Honours. Thereupon they gave Orders to weigh, and having a fair Wind, we were not long before we reached *Dublin*. When we came there, the Captain gave Orders for twenty Men to go on Shore to press more Men. When we got on Shore we divided ourselves, lest they should have any Suspicion of us. I knowing that Men
had

had rather shun than meet a Press Gang, we divided into three Companies, and I said to them, as they had approved of the Division, I think we will go into the Town, and two Companies may go down to the Skirts; but we will go through the Middle of the Town, and by that Means we shall sweep it clean, and then we shall meet together at the End. But there is something more to be contrived, if we intend to do any Good here: I think it is proper that we should go through the Town first, to endeavour to learn the Constitution of the People, and by so doing they will have no Suspicion of us when we go through the second Time. The Men agreed to my Proposal, and said they would be observant to any Thing that I should think worth their while: I was glad they had such a good Resolution, and began to think we should do something more than our Officers expected, which put me in great Spirits. When we parted, I desired they would not pass an Ale-house without paying their Respects to the Landlords and tasting their Beer; because that will be a Means, if any Thing should happen, of having them on our Sides, which will be a great strengthening to us: Therefore I would have you all be extremely civil to all you meet with. And, to carry on the Intrigue with Dexterity, you may signify to the People, that six of our Men and six others are to meet at two o' Clock this Afternoon, to play at Cudgels and Quarter-Staff, and that you are going to see the Town, and by

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that

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that Time they will be ready to begin. You must be all of one Speech, that they may have no Suspicion of you ; and perhaps some of them may desire you to call upon them as you go back, and be sure not to deny them, especially if you think them fit for your Purpose. They answered me, that I needed not doubt their Care, for they would do to the utmost of their Ability ; and I desired them, if they saw any of us, not to take any Notice, but to proceed on their Business. When we parted, we were all in high Spirits, which I liked, as I was sensible no Good could be done, unless we had good Spirits to support us ; and I always observed, that there would never be any Good done if there was any Expostulation amongst them ; which made me think myself very lucky in having Men along with me that were of a placable Temper, though they would exert themselves when required ; which I think is sufficient in any Man ; for quarrellous Persons are not fit to be sent on any Expedition whatsoever, for, instead of forwarding, they will hinder it, so that no sort of Stratagem which can be invented will take. For these Sort of Men have no Notion of any Thing but Violence ; and, for my Part, I always loved to make Men easy in their own Minds, before I would have any Thing to do with them ; as you shall hear, after I have told you our Proceedings in Town. As we went up the Town, we saw several clever young Men playing at Chuck, Pitch, and Huffle : We went forward and did not interrupt

interrupt their Diversion; but some of our Men being willing to stand to see them play, therefore I said to them, Don't stand to see these Children play at Chuck; with that some of them were offended, and replied in very vulgar Language, which I did not mind, as they could not offend me; therefore I told our Men, if they did not come, I would go without them, for if we did not make Haste, we should be too late to see the Cudgel Match. With that the young Men asked where it was to be? I told them, that if they or any of their Acquaintance had a Mind to see the best Cudgel Match that ever was played by Men, we should come back to this Place in about an Hour's Time, when we shall be glad of your Company, if any of you have an Inclination to go. They said, they would go, if we would call. Then we went forward, but had not gone far before some of them said, we hope you won't forget to call upon us. I told them, they might depend upon it. When we came to the Bridge, there was just going to be a Battle between two Men: I ran in the midst, and said, Gentlemen, I would have you forbear; for it is much better to make up your Grievances without Blows. They hearkened to me: but some of the Mob desired to know, what Business I had with them? I took no Notice of their Words, but told the Men, those were not their Friends who desired them to fight in the Streets. With that they put on their Clothes; and I was glad to see that two or three of my Words had more Impression

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on them than all that the rest could say. The Men desired that I would go into a House and drink with them, and thanked me for my Advice. I said to them, Gentlemen, I saw your Inclinations were not for fighting, only the Mob wanted Diversion, of which I was glad to disappoint them; as I have often seen, through the Instigation of other Men, and that such a Thing has been fatal. Therefore I would advise no Man to fight in the Streets, lest Death should befall him; which is often the Case where there are so many backward Friends to assist them. Then I said to my Comrades, Come, we must think of going, or we shall not be Time enough to see the Cudgel Match, that is to be betwixt six Sailors and six others. And I told them, if they had a Mind to go, we would call on them in about half an Hour; and if they knew of any clever young Men, we might make a Bye-Match, for I loved Diversion, but hated Barbarity, which was not agreeable to my Constitution. They desired me not to exceed my Time, and they would wait till we came back, and we will send for two or three of our Acquaintance, that will go along with us. We parted, and were very expeditious; for we ran over the other Part of the Town presently. The People, seeing us in such a Hurry, asked what was the Matter? We told them that we had a Mind to see all that Part of the Town, before the Diversion at the other began. They wanted to know what Diversion; but I desired they would stay till we returned, and we would inform

form them. As I desired, they did; and tarried till we came back. By Chance I saw a Parcel of our Men, and desired them to take no Notice of us, but go as fast as they could to the Field we had appointed, near the large Ale-house we had drank at; and when they came there, to strip ready, and when we came up, to seem very impatient that their Antagonists were not come to face them. They followed our Directions, and we carried on the Intrigue with great Dexterity. For our Parts, when we went back, five and twenty young Men followed our Company, and we were all in high Spirits, as we passed through the Streets; which occasioned us to increase our Number; and I said as we went along, Come, my Boys! the more the merrier; which caused the whole Town to be alarmed: So that I thought we should have more than we could tell what to do with; and I began to think that we must be very artful, to deceive so many; which set my Wits to work. I was at a stand for some Time, to think of Means for our Preservation, which I had Reason enough for, being environed with so many clever young Men: I was under no Apprehensions of Fear in Regard to myself, but for my Companions, as I had taken upon me to bear them harmless, if they would follow my Directions. So I had a great Charge upon me, but not greater than I was able to discharge. When we came near to the Place appointed, we perceived our Men and likewise some others along with them; they were stript, and as active

as ever I saw young Men, for they were practising with each other. When we came to them, they said to us, Gentlemen, did you see on the Road any Men coming to meet us? We replied, that we neither saw nor heard of any. Bless me! said one of them, we have been waiting here this Hour, in Expectation of their Company: I am afraid they will disappoint us. You need not be afraid of that, said I; if they have promised you, they will surely be as good as their Words; if not, we shall lose the Diversion that we came to see. The Men said to us, Gentlemen, you shall not lose your Labour, for if they don't come by half an Hour after Two, it was agreed on to spend ten Shillings, which they left for a Forfeit, and we left the same, which we will spend freely, and of which, Gentlemen, you are very welcome to partake. Our Landlord has got a large Ham and Buttock of Beef stuffed, which we shall be glad to entertain you with. I said to the Company, Gentlemen, as the young Men are so civil as to offer this Favour, we had best to accept it; for I am certain, if a Man offers a Favour to any Person, he had much rather that they should receive than refuse it; for receiving it shews a Regard to the Bestower; Therefore, Gentlemen, if you are willing, when the Time is expired, we will all go together; and when the Money is spent we will be our Sixpence a-piece; For as we came here to be merry, the People will laugh at us, if we go back otherwise; they will say, You have lost your Spirits, as well

as your Diversion; to prevent which you must do as I desire, and what they say then will be but trifling. Gentlemen, my Nature is not to vex at Disappointments, for I am sensible there is nothing but Disappointments in this World; therefore, as this prejudices no one, I would not have you to be uneasy, and think your Time spent idly: But as we came here to please our Eyes, do not let us go back without comforting our Hearts; and as we may be cheerful, I always prefer Mirth before any Thing else, and I do not question but we shall be merry enough before we part. They complied, and we went into the Ale-house, but I gave my Men a Hint not to admit any into our Company, but those that were fit for our Purpose, which they observed. We were provided with Rooms to entertain two Companies in, for as they came in, two of our Men stood ready to introduce them in two Divisions. When we had almost filled our Rooms, two or three wanted to intrude in going into what Rooms they thought proper, which I perceiving, said to them, Gentlemen, I am ashamed at your Behaviour, as the young Men are so civil to treat you, you abuse their good Nature, by intruding on them in this Manner; therefore I would have you to go into the other Room, and think yourselves well dealt by; for you ought rather to thank them for their Civilities, then to create a Clamour and Disturbance, as you may be certain, every Man that gives a Treat will chuse his own Company: Therefore they went into the Room very orderly.

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But the poor Men little thought that I belonged to them, for had they imagined it, my Words would not have made such an Impression on them.

Thus we had the good Fortune, to get all those that were to our liking together; and it gave me a great deal of Pleasure to see them all so well disposed, and I began to think, that with a little Difficulty we might bring them into a Condition to do Business. I ordered something for us to eat, and they brought the Buttock of Beef and Ham, which I thought would not be sufficient to satisfy such a Number as we were, therefore I desired the Landlord to get us something to relish our Drink, and he brought us some cold Beef Stake Pye, and some Bacon and Red Herrings, so out of one Thing or other we made Shift to satisfy them; and then for the Drinking, my Desire was to make the opposite Party happy in their Liquor, and preserve the young Men, so that they might be able to walk along with us; and I accomplished my Design in this Manner. I attended them with Liquor, and got them almost fuddled, and when their Senses were not so brisk as usual, I dash'd their Liquor with Brandy to pin the Basket, which I was not long about. After that was applied they were clamorous for some Time, but at last fell fast asleep; And I began to think their Appearance was like so many dead Bodies. I was very well pleas'd that I had accomplished so great a Work, so paying my Reckoning I went to the other Company, and told them that

I had

I had just got all the others to Sleep. They were astonished, and thought it impossible that I should make them all fuddled, but to convince them I desired they would go and see. Two or three went and came back saying, that there they lay like so many Pigs in a Sty. The poor young Men little thought of our Conspiracy against them, neither did they know that I belonged to our Men, but thought that I lived at *Dublin*; wherefore I said to them, Gentlemen, I think we are highly obliged to the Mariners for this Treat, but as they have been so civil, I think, we can do no less than be our Shilling a Piece before we go. They answered, we acknowledge their Civility has been more than we could expect, and will be any Thing that they shall desire. Then my Comrades replied, Gentlemen, you will be all kindly welcome to as much more, if you will take part of it. I said to them, I think we will stay a little longer, but I will not stay to be benighted; they approved of it, and said with all their Hearts, and down we sat, and were exceeding merry, when among other Discourse I told them that I wanted to go to *England*, and that sometimes a Ship going that Way would not be against giving one a Lift. Some of the Men said we have often wished to see *England*, but never could have an Opportunity of going thither, if you can inquire when any Ship goes we shall be glad to go along with you, for we like your Company and Conversation very well. I could not help being pleased to hear them express themselves

selves in that Manner, and said to them, if you are in earnest, I will make all the Enquiry I can; for if we have fair Weather we need not be gone above three or four Days, and as it is a Frolick, and we are all merry together, let us all go together. I do not love to satisfy all the World of my Proceedings, but if you have all a Mind to go along with me, I will bear your Charges. They thanked me for my kind Offer, and said they would not refuse it.

I thought the young Men were very affable in complying with every Thing that I proposed, and thought myself blest above all Mankind to be able to make myself so agreeable to every body; and could not help thinking, that I had the most Luck of any Man in Life in succeeding in all my Enterprises for her Majesty's Service; notwithstanding I had the least of any Body in Undertakings that were for myself, except it was Providence that guided me, which was my only Director and Support. I said to the young Men, it is possible these Gentlemen Mariners may know of some Ship that is going that Way very soon. My Comrades replied, Gentlemen, as soon as the Wind is fair, we shall sail for *Holyhead*, and we do not question but that if you have a Mind to go, our Captain will not refuse you your Passage; but it is uncertain when we shall set sail, therefore, if you have a Mind to walk along with us, I believe you may be certain of your Passage. They were in a Consternation for some Time, when I said, I desire you will determine at once, what you have

have a Mind to do, and I will be ready to wait on you, and take Care that you shall want for nothing in your Passage, so Gentlemen, it only depends upon your Resolution, to say Yea, or Nay. They replied, they would go. Well, said I, since your Resolutions are to go, I will give you my Word and Honour to take care of you. I thought it was right to take them at their Words, lest their Minds should alter; so we paid our Reckoning, and went away immediately. I was in high Spirits to think that I had accomplished this Operation, which Thousands would have thought morally impossible to do, as I had done, and but few would have invented such Stratagems as I did, but I always thought that I could not do enough for the good of my Queen and Country; and as my Thoughts were so well inclined, nothing was a Fatigue to me, but as the Scripture saith, *my Yoke was easy, and Burthen was light.* And I was always ready by my Example, and otherwise, to reform the Populace from a bad Inclination to a loyal one."

When we came on board of our Ship, I desired our Men not to take Notice that I belonged to them, 'till I had accomplished my Design; when I said to the young Men I think it will be proper to go to the Captain and ask him whether he is willing to give us our Passage: They agreed to leave it to me, to do as I thought proper. I went to the Captain and said, Sir, I have brought you five and twenty Passengers, who all came with an Intent to go with me to *England*, they little think that I am a Mariner, there.

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therefore they have been very compliable to every Thing that I have proposed hitherto; and I don't question but that if your Honour will be so kind as to favour me with your Company, and speak to me as if I was one of them, but you will bring them by Degrees all to be Volunteers, which I think is much better than to surprise them at once; otherwise they will always bear me a Grudge, and say, that I have acted sophistically with them. But Sir, I hope you will not give them that Provocation, and this is the only Way to prevent it; and I shall be bound to pray for you, if you will be pleased to grant my Request. The Captain was very well pleased, and said, *Bishop*, I will do any Thing that is in my Power to serve you, and you may depend upon my coming amongst you in order to make every Thing easy. I returned him a thousand Thanks for his Civilities, and it was not long before he came to visit us. The first Thing he said was, young Men, where are you bound for? I answered, Sir, we came along with your Men, in order for to go to *England*; for these young Men have a great Fancy, but never had an Opportunity to go till now, therefore we shall be highly obliged to your Honour for our Passage. He replied, you are all welcome to your Passage, but I would not advise you to go, for you will all certainly be pressed into the Land Service if you go there, for there is a very hot Press all over *England*, because they want Men in *Flanders*: Though if you have a Mind to hazard yourselves, I will conduct you safe, but am certain

tain it will prove as I say. Therefore if your Inclinations do not lead you to serve the Queen by Land, I would have you all to determine and serve her by Sea. The young Men were seemingly under great Concern, when I said to them, well, what shall we do? As the noble Captain has given us our Choice do not let us be cast down, but as we came in a Frolick let us support it by going along with the Captain; I hope you are not under any Apprehensions of Danger, if you are, you need not, for I do not think there is so much as People make for, therefore let us all be of one Mind, either to go or to continue with the Captain: For my Part, make it agreeable to yourselves, it will be agreeable to me. Then they pulled up Courage and said they would go along with the Captain; I was very glad to find them as conformable now as before, and the Captain was in Raptures to see them so well inclined, and that I had accomplished my Design. Then he desired me to go with him into his Cabin, where he said to me, *Bishop*, thou art the greatest Artist that ever was born, for to unite such a Body of Men as these are. I cannot conceive your Genius. For it is miraculous and unconceiveable how you should get so many Men, and the Lieutenant and Mate so few. Sir, said I, that I have nothing to do with, but whenever I am sent upon any Expedition, I always think it my Duty to do to the utmost of my Ability, and nothing could refrain me from acting; otherwise I should not be able to answer for my Conduct,

and

and ashamed to look you in the Face; but I can give you an account of all my Proceedings during my Service, and you are not unacquainted with some of them, which you have judiciously observed. He then said, you must have something for the young Men to make merry with, and gave me two Gallons of Brandy, saying, if that is not enough you shall have more, and *Bishop*, for your Part you shall never want for any Thing while you are with me, and I shall always respect you for what you have done.

I would have the World think it is no small Thing to have the Commander's good Word; for a Captain is like a King at Sea, and his Authority is over all that are in his Possession. Therefore I would have all the Sailors to be mindful of their Duty, and that will be a Means to gain their Commander's good Word. I took leave of the Captain, and went with the two Gallons of Brandy to the young Men, and said, see here, my Boys, how good the noble Captain has been to us already, to give us this Brandy to make merry with. At the Sight of the Liquor they all began to revive, and drank to such an Excess as drown'd all Apprehensions of Fear or Danger: And they never after disliked a Mariner's Life, nor seemed to vex at their coming, but when the Morning appeared they were as merry as ever without the least Concern. Nor was there any Reflection thrown on any one, though it was through my Instigation. When the Captain got up he was glad to find us all in such high Spirits, and asked us how we liked
our

our Liquor? We returned him Thanks, that we liked it extremely well, and it enlivened our Hearts to such a Degree, that we were capable of any Thing. The Captain then gave Orders for the young Men to observe how the Sailors did every Thing, and to learn their Business: They were very diligent, and in a short Time were good Seamen; much better than those that the Lieutenant and Mate got out of Hovs and Boats, for the greatest Part of them were stubborn obstinate Men, thinking none so wise as themselves, which I observed to be the Nature of those sort of Men, and that there is no breaking of them. Therefore I aver, that there is more Prospect of a good Sailor from a Countryman, than from a Waterman, that pretends to know more than his Teachers. Which I always found to be a just Observation, but leave such as have a Mind to dispute it.

We weighed and were ordered to *Holyhead*, where we staid but a short Time, before we put to Sea again. We had not gone far before it blew exceeding hard, so that the Master thought proper to run her very much to Windward and on the Lee side we might have gone up to our Knees in Water. She had very high comings to the Hatches. Then there was a Signal to stand to the Lee Sheet, and the Wind being partly in our Teeth made it a long Sail to *Plymouth*. We put into *Hamouze*, where the Ship being ordered to be clean'd, I thought there was no more Business for me at Sea, therefore took the first Opportunity to speak to the Captain, which I did



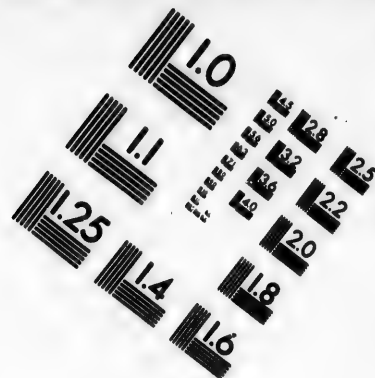
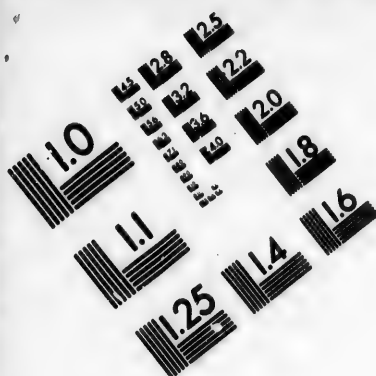
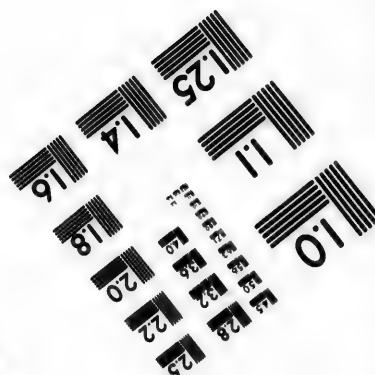
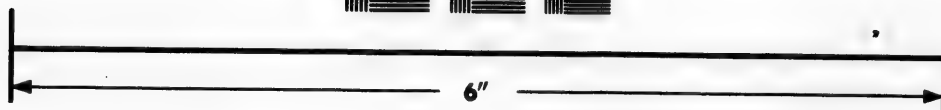
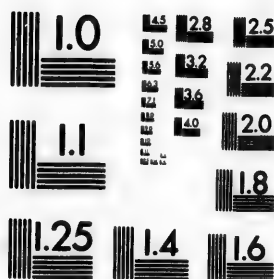


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in this Manner. Sir, I have a Favour to beg, which if you will be pleased to grant, will highly oblige me. You know, Sir, my Behaviour hitherto, but if you please to give me leave I will inform you of my Inclinations. Sir, I am of a roving Nature; and ever since I heard of the Action that was performed on the *Danube* by the Duke of *Marlborough*, I promised to myself, in God's Name, that if nothing prevented I would go and assist the Duke, for so noble a General cannot have too many good Men; and as my Inclinations are already with him I hope your Honour will not deny me: There have been many Instances that our Enemies Defeat has been owing to the Success of one Blow, and it may be my Fortune to strike that lucky Blow; and if you please to release me I am determined to stand to all Events, for I find there will be nothing more done at Sea, and I will go where I can be employed; for I have no other Desire but to be of Service to my Queen and Country, and have no Ambition but to carry Arms, so that I may call myself a Man of War and an Arms Bearer. This is all I desire, except Fortune favours me with something, I will never purchase any Thing, and as Providence has ordered it, hitherto I have been a Victor, and do not question but I shall remain so. Therefore, Sir, with your leave I will drink Success to her Majesty's Arms by Sea and Land. The Captain, replied, *Bishop*, I cannot part from you so easily as from my Liquor; for when that is gone I can get more, but when you

are gone I shall never get such another. Yet I cannot well refuse you, and since we must part, pray God prosper all your Intentions; for I don't know any one in the Army that deserves my Prayers preferable to yourself. Sir, said I, I return your Honour Thanks for all your Civilities to me, and hope that your Honour may find thousands and ten thousands as good Men as myself, or else we shall be at a very great Loss if the War continues; as there is no other likelihood but it will by Land. He left me and I believe the Gentleman had a great Regard for me: For he often said he would do something for me the first Opportunity. But at that Time I had no Thoughts of Preferment, and only a strong Desire to humble our Enemies, which was all my Ambition aimed at. And what is more commendable than to face our Enemies like Lions, which strikes such a Terror as renders them unfit to hold up a Musket against us, and their Spirits to fail them so much that they are like Men struck with a Palsy? Oh! *Britain*, it is all owing to thy Fame, and thy Name I will always help to support.

C H A P. VIII.

The Author leaves the Sea Service: Marries a Wife: Settles his Family Affairs, and resolves to try the Land Service.

IT was not long before the Captain came again to me, and said, *Bishop*, as you are determined to leave this Service, when do you intend

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intend to enter into the Land Service? Sir, said I, as soon as your Honour is pleased to give me my Discharge, I intend to go see my Friends and Relations, and then leave them again to condole for me, when I shall enter myself in the Land Service: For it is my Resolution that nothing shall restrain me from acting in every Particular as I have informed your Honour. *Bishop*, replied he, I don't doubt your Sincerity in the least, for I am sensible that it is not in your Nature to do an ill Thing; therefore I will give you your Discharge, and you may go as soon as you please. Sir, said I, I return your Honour a thousand Thanks, I will just take leave of my Comrades, and then I purpose to go in God's Name: For hitherto I have had my Protection from him, and may it be his blessed Will ever to remain with me; for through him we gain the Victory, and without him we are not able to think a good Thought. *Bishop*, said he, it is very right, we are incapable of doing any thing that is good without his Assistance.

We parted and I went to take Leave of all belonging to the Ship. They were extremely sorry to find I was going to leave them; particularly the two poor Men whose Lives I was so instrumental in saving, when they had the Accident to fall into the Sea; they remembered it and cried excessively, and said there is not a Man in the World we have such a Regard for as you. I gave them some small Acknowledgment, and left them with Tears in their Eyes.

I set out pleasing myself with the Thoughts of being able to give my Friends and Relations an Account of my Adventures, and how I should surprise them at my Appearance, as they had not seen me for seven Years. I might have seen them sooner but I was apprehensive that they might possibly detain me by their Persuasions. Therefore, I thought proper only to write to them, and as I had disobeyed my Parents at my first setting out, I thought it prudent not to be too often guilty of the same Fault. Therefore, they were obliged to be contented with my Absence, though they thought it hard as I was their only Son; and so much the more, as there was a little Estate depending, that after our Decease would go into another Family. My Father often implored me, but nothing would restrain me from acting according to my own Inclinations. Therefore I left him to deplore for me, which I found he did; for when I came to my Mother, she told me it had been the Occasion of his Death. As I found this was through my Proceedings, it put me in great Torture, when I came to reflect with myself, that he should be the only one to whom I rendered Ingratitude for Love. And it put me very much out of order to think, that I should be kind to all the World and neglect my dear Father.

When I grew better I informed my Mother, that I had an Inclination to go see my Uncle in *Kent*; though I had other Reasons: For I had an old Sweetheart at *Chatham* whom I wanted to see. My Mother was very unwilling to part

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with me so soon, and said to me, my dear Child I thought you was come to continue with me; for I have no Pleasure in the World now your Father is dead; therefore I proposed to have some in you, as you are come home alive, but I find you will bereave me of all. Her tender Expressions and the word Father cut me to the Heart, and no one can imagine the Torture I endured. It was then I found that I was of two Natures, having degenerated from a Heart like a Lion to a melting Heart. I strove to hide my Grief from my Mother by going into *Kent*, and she shed thousands of Tears for me at parting; but I comforted her as well as I could by telling her I should return in a Week or Fortnight's Time. When I had taken Leave of her I made the best of my Way to *Chatham*, and between Pleasure and Pain I scarce felt the Ground I walked on; for I was but two Days in going from *Deddington* in *Oxfordshire*, to *Chatham* in *Kent*. I had a great regard for the Person whom I made my Wife in a Day or two after my Arrival there. Therefore, as she possessed one part of my Heart and Grief the other, I was so supported that I was not in the least Leg-weary; and as I thought it was most prudent to overcome Grief with Pleasure, I think that I took the properest Method of any in the World by taking a Wife; but there was not a little Vexation attended it, as you shall hear.

I married *Sarah Dickers* Daughter to *John Dickers*, who was brought up by her Grandfather *James Jackman*, she was a Woman that was
very

very well educated, and I had a Fortune with her suitable to her Education: She had several other good Perfections, and her Conversation and good Nature were amiable, and she had my Soul's Affection. And I think she was endued with a Gift more than any of her Sex, which was Patience; therefore I thought myself blessed above all Mankind in a Wife, for there was not a Spot nor a Blemish in her that I could perceive. We had been married but two Days before the Grandfather heard of it: Then he fell into a great Rage, and said to my Wife, as she told me, so Madam you are married, are ye? and be d—d. Well you shall continue no longer under my Roof, with that he pushed her out of Doors. She came crying to me, and said, she thought her Grandfather would go mad about it; and that she did not think he could be guilty of such Animosity, for she always thought him to be a good natured Man; for when he returned from walking he always asked for his dear Child with much Tendernefs: but I found that he was changed from Clemency to be full of Clamour. Therefore I told my Wife I would consider against next Morning how to proceed; I had but little Sleep all Night, and as soon as Day break I thought proper to have some Discourse with my Wife. We talked the Matter over for about three Hours, and at last agreed to go together to the old Man; and to behave in as humble a Manner as possibly we could. When we came thither my Wife fell down on her Knees and said, pray dear

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Grand Papa forgive me, but this is my Husband. The old Man looked with Exuberance of Spite in his Face. I said to him, Sir, with humble Submission, I beg you will hear me, I mean to do nothing but with Honour and Justice to all the World, and as I am married to your Grand-daughter I am bound in Justice to take care of her, and there is a Duty incumbent on me with regard to you, which I shall always observe, Sir, I flatter no Man, neither will I deceive any Man or Woman in the World by fabulous Stories, but all my Proceedings will be Facts, and you will find me a true Friend to her: Therefore, if you did purpose any Favours I beg they may be no farther off. As I observed before, I saw his Passion broiling in him with Exuberance of Spite, and he expressed himself in such a Manner, as would have made any one tremble to hear such Expressions come out of an old Man's Mouth. He swore by all that was Good he would destroy us both; and in a violent Rage ran into the Parlour. I apprehended he had something more in his Head than was good and ran after him, when he had just charged a Gun with a brace of Balls, and had primed it. And just as I appeared was going to fire at me; but I was active and jumped upon him, took it out of his Hand and preserved my Life and his too, I had a great Notion that somebody had preposessed him with some false Aspersions of me. Therefore I said to him, Sir, this is not through your own Nature, but through the Instigation of others, that have put you in this Passion, and
I hope

I hope you will strive to quench those Flames that are burning in your Breast, and not give way to those that will deceive you. How could you propose to lift up Arms against a Man whose Profession it has been these seven Years successively? Were it in some Men's Power they would bereave you of your Life; but I take no Advantage of any Man, and though you was guilty of Inhumanity I shall not be guilty of the same. But I will maintain my Right, and beg you will sit down while my Wife and your Servant fetches all the Things that belong to her down into this Room, and nothing more. But every Thing that is hers I insist on. Therefore my Dear, be not guilty of any Injustice, by taking any Thing more than what you can justly call your own; for though he has acted barbarously by me, I desire nothing more than to do him Justice; and am sorry I am obliged to exert myself in this Manner to the old Man, though I am drove to it for my own Preservation and Safety.

When my Wife had brought down all her Things according to my Desire, I took an Inventory of them and laid them all before the old Man, that he might see there was nothing but what was hers. I opened a Scrutore and found some Writings; I just looked at them and found that they were right. I could not help smiling, and said to the old Man, Sir, I find my Wife has received some Favours from you, which I acknowledge is very considerable, and I will do my Endeavour to make some Returns of

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Gratitude, if you think I am deserving and use me as such, otherwise the Obligation is void, and I do not think I am obliged to you in the least, because you think me unworthy of the Blessing of God Almighty, even of that which is as dear to me as my own Soul. He was not satisfied, but fled in a violent Rage, and said he would be the Death of us if ever we entred his Gates again. Therefore I thought it prudent to stay and secure all that belonged to us, while we might: For I found the Thoughts of Money cut him to the Heart, When we had done every Thing effectually, I said to the old Man, *Sir, I hope you won't grudge me what I have got as I have ventured my own Life to preserve yours; and if you please to reflect, you will find I am deserving of every individual Thing.* Though I treated him so gently, yet his unruly Spirit could not get the better of his Passion; so I was obliged to leave him in Flames. Before we parted he was for having the Gun again; but I told him, *Sir, as for the Gun, I purpose to keep it; to try whether I cannot guard my Wife and Money better than you did.* This irritated him to such a Degree, I thought he would have gone mad, However I received it all as calm as a Lamb, thinking by that Means to pacify him. But as I found nothing would do, I thought it best to leave him to himself, and the Words we spoke at parting were prettily made out by my Wife, I said, *This is a mournful parting Day. She, farewel Grand Papa, I say.* Which was all was said at parting.

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The old Man bore a continual Hatred to me, and I became his utter Aversion. I observed that the Nature of Mankind is almost like a Fish. As they swallow the Bait with such Eagerness, as to be glad to disgorge it again; so Men will run to Excess till they find the Effect of their Passion, and then would be glad to be compliable. Though it often proves their Ruin before they are aware of the Event, as it certainly would have been of him, had not I had the Courage to disarm him to prevent the Effects of his Ire. And if he were to reflect, I do not question but he would thankfully acknowledge it. But instead thereof, at the time he grew more inveterate against me. Not that I went near him: For I only enquired of his Neighbours, and could not help pleasing myself with the Thoughts of what a Change there would be in him, when my Uncle and he should come together; as I was sensible after some Conference together, all Grievances would be made up, he would draw in his Horns, and be ashamed of his Proceedings. But by concealing this in my own Breast, I terrified the old Man, and found out his Nature and Disposition, which were very extraordinary. For he made a shocking Appearance when in those Flames of Passion, and I have often said, could a Man but see himself at that Time he never would be guilty of the like again.

Though he envied me so much, yet nothing could induce me to make myself known. Though my Wife was very uneasy, fearing that

he would take some Opportunity to do me a private Mischief. Therefore she said to me, my Dear, *I wish you would contrive some Way to make him easy.* I replied, *my Dear Child, I beg of you not to make yourself uneasy, for it is not in my Power at present. But I hope in a little Time to be able to bring things to bear. I will do to the utmost of my Ability, and do not question but to establish Union, Peace, and Concord between us; though I love to see a Man sweat his Passion out before I execute my Design, and you are sensible he has been guilty of a great many Execrations on my account; but I am certain you will find a great Change in him for the better, when I have accomplished my Design. As I always had a good Heart and my Intentions were good, I never feared Success in any of my Undertakings. For that Man or Woman is not born, that I cannot make myself agreeable to by some Means or other; and instead of this Exuberancy of Spite against me he will be struck with Extasy and Raptures. My Wife said, she should be glad to see it, for she believed it was in no one's Power to turn his Heart, to one that he had once taken Antipathy against: For he was obstinate in his own Opinion, and thought none so wise as himself. My Dear, said I, I find by your Talk, that he has not one good Qualification belonging to him, and though he has not I am not afraid of accomplishing my Design; for the greater his Cruelty the greater my Merit will be, and then I may say to myself there is nothing impossible for Man where there is Assistance from God. And*

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I may very well say it now, as I have waded through a multitude of Difficulties though I found nothing impracticable; therefore I will say with the Scripture, "As the Lord is on my Side, I need not fear what Man can do unto me." For though they may be artful in laying Plots and Schemes, yet nothing will succeed without the providential Power of God. And I hope no one will contradict me in this; for if they should they must be under a Cloud of Darkness, which is often the Case where Obstinacy and Ignorance meet together. When I had made these Reflections, my Wife observed to me thus: My Dear, *I hope you will excuse me, but I am very impatient to know how you propose to bring yourself into his Favour? I am afraid you will find it a hard Task as he is so morose.* My Dear, I replied, *I thank your Sincerity, but I do not doubt Success in the least. But you must excuse my begging of you never to be impatient to know my Affairs, till I think proper to make them known to you.* Nevertheless she continued in the same Disposition, continually urging me to tell her, till I positively informed her that I would not; and as she knew me to be a Man of my Word, she desisted importuning me. As I found my Answer gave her a great deal of Displeasure, and I was inwardly grieved to see her vex at it; I could not help saying to her. My Dear, *I cannot help not telling you for my Word's sake, and you may remember that I have kept it in every Thing I have proposed to you.* She said, *I acknowledge it, and that you have*

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have acted sincerely in every Respect. But as for this I did not think it material, for had I apprehended that it would in the least have offended you, I would not have desired to have known any of your Secrets upon any Consideration whatsoever, and therefore beg your Pardon. Her soft Expressions ravish'd my Soul, and gave me a great Idea of Happiness in her; but I could not in Honour break my former Resolutions, although I had such a Prospect of Happiness before my Eyes as would have been inevitable, had I been blessed with a Continuance with her. I then began to reflect with myself in this Manner. What is Man if he does not stand to his Resolutions? Even he is no Man if he does not fulfill his own Proposals, let the Event be what it will, and leave the Darling of his Heart, and all that is dear to him in this World to help to support a good Cause, even this just and necessary War. I had these Reflections in the Presence of my Wife, but concealed them; for she little thought of my Intentions, neither can any one express the Pain I endured at the Thoughts of leaving my Comforter. These Thoughts were daily revived till I got the better of my Passion, when I thought fit to reveal it to my Wife. But before that, I did my Endeavour to make things easy with regard to the old Man, which I brought about in this Manner: I sent the following Letter to my Uncle,

SIR,

S I R,

I AM married to a Grand-Daughter of Mr. *Jakeman*, which has created a great deal of Contention, through the want of a Knowledge of me, as I am a Man that does not love to make myself known to the World: But as I find it is necessary in an Affair of so weighty a Concern, that they should have some Knowledge of me, I therefore pitch upon you, to concert with the old Man; as I know you are one of his Particulars, and have more Influence over him than any one I know: Therefore, I think you are the only Person to make up Grievances, which often arises between us. As Necessity obliges me to inform you of it, I hope you will admit it indispensable; for I shall be sorry to be disappointed, though I was always confident you would never deceive me, and this will be a greater Obligation than ever, which, as is my Duty, I shall ever acknowledge, with the Returns of Friendship as in Duty bound,

From your affectionate Nephew,
Matthew Bishop.

P. S. I beg you will not take Notice of what I have observed to you when you see him, though when you have spoke in favour of me, and have had some Confabulation with him, you may, if you think proper, desire to see me, and then you must own me in Course, though in great Surprise. And as I do not doubt but the old Man will acquaint you with all his Proceedings,

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ceedings, I am sure you will be under great Concern at them, and will say he has acted with Inhumanity. As I have waded through Fire and Water to serve my Queen and Country, and when I come home to make me Amends, he puts my Life in Danger, it shocks me to think of his Ingratitude; but since it is so I will fulfil my Resolutions, and go plant myself once more before my Enemies,

When I had sent this Letter to my Uncle, I could not help being very uneasy to see or hear from him; therefore I went and walked along the Road on purpose to meet him: But was full of perplexing Thoughts fearing the Letter might miscarry. As I was in this Consternation he came galloping along. I was very glad to see him and told him I began to be very impatient. He assured me that as soon as ever he received my Letter he made all the Haste possible, and was as impatient as I was, knowing the old Man to be of a very odd Temper, and fearing he might do me a Mischief by some Means or other. Therefore to prevent farther Disputes, he made all the haste possibly he could for my Preservation. I thought it my Duty to render him Thanks for his being so expeditious. He told me he would readily go a thousand Miles to serve me for my Father's sake, for he had more regard for him than for any Man in the World, and for whose Sake he should always respect me. Besides he was glad to hear I was married to a Woman of such Accomplishments,
and,

and, said he, *I believe the old Man has settled something on her besides what her Father left her, which will a very considerable Fortune, and with the Estate your Father left you at his Death, you may live as happy as a King. Therefore I would have you be comfortable, and not think of any more Frolicks, as you have been so lucky as to escape all Dangers you have been in; but think, that as Providence has protected you hitherto, if you are obstinate, and run wilfully into the Jaws of Death, you must not expect to escape. And pray Cousin, as the Almighty has been so favourable, do not press too much upon his Goodness, lest by so doing you should offend him, and consider, that as he is the only Arm of Defence in War, that if he does not give a Blessing to your Undertakings, you must expect to fall as you have seen Thousands.*

To this Discourse of his, I replied, Sir, *I return you a thousand Thanks, for the tender regard I find you have for me; but as God's providential Power has been over me hitherto, I never will despair of his Goodness: As he has conducted me and brought me through Fire, Sword, and Famine, from tempestuous Storms and the raging of the Seas, after all this Goodness, shall I say I have done enough? No, it behoves me to act to the utmost of my Ability, to help to support a good Cause. And as he has led me along with a fatherly Hand, why should I relinquish his Benevolence? No, that is not my Nature, for his Goodness I will return my Benediction, and do what I am able, till the Almighty think fit to make*
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an Alteration. I may be instrumental in the preserving of Thousands; while I am thus inclined, why should any one endeavour to turn my Heart? But I defy all the World to do it as it is so stedfastly fixt. Cousin, replied he, I find you are the same Man as ever, and have as great Resolution; I wish it had been fix'd on something more agreeable to your Friends. But since it is otherwise we must be contented. Sir, said I, I will declare my Sentiments freely to you, but hope you will not reveal them. My Inclination is fully bent on going to Flanders, as soon as the old Man is pacified, and every Thing is settled, and then I purpose to leave all my Income between my Wife and Mother, which will make them very happy in my Absence; for I cannot settle while there is any Thing to be done abroad. The Thoughts of it are never out of my Head Day or Night; which makes me unfit for any Thing else. Therefore I think it best to be where my Thoughts are. I am the more impatient to have this Affair settled because I am losing Time; therefore beg it may be made an End of this Day if possible. Dear Cousin, said he, since you are determined to go I will endeavour all that I can to bring the old Man to comply with what may be agreeable to you and your Wife. Sir, I replied, I desire nothing more than to have Union amongst us; till then I cannot rest, neither can I leave them at Variance; but I beg you will not let any one know my Intentions, till I have accomplish'd all my Designs; which when I have executed I care not who knows them. He told me, he would take all
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the Care possible. Sir, I replied, I do not doubt your Care, but Mankind cannot be too cautious, where such a cross-grain'd Piece of Stuff is concerned; therefore one should ponder with inward Consultations, to be able to weigh him to a Hair, and as I am sensible you can do it to a Nicety, I rely entirely on you. We had all this Discourse on the Road, which gave me much Satisfaction.

We parted; he went directly to the old Man, and I home to my Wife, very well pleased with the Thoughts that my Adventures might turn out to Advantage; but more, with the Thoughts of taking my Pleasure abroad, which was the Thing I wanted. My Wife perceived that I was lifted up, and much delighted with something; and said to me, My Dear, I am glad to see you in such Spirits, and find something has pleased you since you have been out. I said to her, if any one asks for me I will see them; therefore desire you not to deny me; for I expect a Gentleman this Day to call on me, and through him I am in Hopes of making up the Difference that is between the old Man and us, which, my Dear, I am sensible you will be pleased with; therefore you shall drink a Bumper of Wine to our good Success. Though I do not Question it, said she, yet I fear I shall not find it so easy as you imagine. But she was very well pleased. When we had dined and drank our Glass, a Messenger came from the old Man's, and said to me, Sir, there is a Gentleman with my Master desires to see you at our House. I said to him, Pray give my Service to the Gentleman, and de-

fire him to excuse me coming there; as your Ma-
ster has forbidden me ever coming under his Roof,
I think it will not be prudent to be forbidden a
second Time; but shall be glad to see the Gentle-
man here or where he shall appoint else, but there,
tell him I positively cannot come. The Servant
 went Home and delivered his Message very
 punctually, and was not long before he returned
 with the Gentleman with him. In the mean
 Time I told my Wife, I thought it would be
 much better to be seemingly backward of go-
 ing; for otherwise the old Man would think I
 knew of his coming. While my Wife and I
 were discoursing, the Servant brought my Uncle
 to the Door. And as the Servant came along
 with him, I thought it would be right to seem
 somewhat surpris'd. Therefore said, it is my
 Uncle! O Uncle! I am overjoyed to see you,
 how came you in this part of the World? Which
 the Servant hearing ran home to his Master, and
 told him. In the mean while my Uncle told
 me what had pass'd between them, which was
 as follows. 'As soon, said he, as I entred the
 ' House the old Man said, Mr. *Nicholls*, I am
 ' heartily glad to see you, I thought I should
 ' never have the Pleasure of seeing you more.
 ' Sir, said I, I hope you are well, and Miss
 ' your Grand-daughter, where is she pray?
 ' Oh! Mr. *Nicholls*, it is not much matter where
 ' she is, for she has turned out a very undutiful
 ' Child; after so much Trouble as I have had
 ' in giving her Education to make her a com-
 ' plete Gentlewoman, after all, she has been
 ' so

' so ungrateful, as to throw herself away upon
 ' the Lord knows who. Had I not done what
 ' I have and cannot recal it, it would not have
 ' vexed me; but the Thoughts of throwing 500l.
 ' away, I believe I shall run distracted. ' Sir,
 I replied, ' do you know nothing of the Man?
 He answered, ' No more than that he is a Ma-
 ' riner, and has the Appearance of a very wild
 ' young Fellow. When I saw him last, it vex-
 ' ed me to that Degree, that I was just going
 ' to shoot him, if he had not prevented me by
 ' taking the Gun out of my Hands, and then
 ' he told me he would guard my Grand-daugh-
 ' ter and Money better than I had done, and
 ' bid me Defiance; which enraged me so much
 ' that had I had any Thing in my Hand, I
 ' should certainly have bereaved him of his
 ' Life, and should he ever come near me I can-
 ' not avoid doing him a Mischief; for the very
 ' Thought of him puts me in Flames, much
 ' more the Sight. He had the most Pertness
 ' as ever you knew a young Man in your Life,
 ' and such a Fluency of Speech that every Word
 ' he spoke cut me to the Heart; so that I was
 ' not able to contain myself. ' Sir, said I, par-
 ' don me, but if I may give my Opinion I
 ' think you exert yourself too much in this
 ' Thing, and should endeavour to moderate
 ' your Passion, as there is no Necessity for it.
 ' I do not find the young Man has given you
 ' any Abuse, or used you ill in any respect;
 ' then why should you be so invidious against
 H 2 him

‘ him without any Provocation.’ He said, ‘ Oh
‘ Mr. *Nicholls*, I think I have had Provocation
‘ enough to make me worse than I am.’ ‘ No,
‘ I replied, ‘ I cannot think so ; a Man may be
‘ vexed for a Season, but that is no reason why
‘ he should harbour Inveteracy ; for nothing
‘ shews a Man’s Wickedness more than to carry
‘ his Resentment too far. Let there be a Me-
‘ diation ; and suffer me to be his Mediator in
‘ speaking my Sentiments, which I shall do
‘ freely. I verily believe the young Man is in-
‘ wardly good. For there are but few in the
‘ World, that had they but half as much said
‘ to them, or done to them what you have
‘ been guilty of, but would have attempted
‘ something against you to have done themselves
‘ Justice. And I observed to him, that you
‘ might have done something very prejudicial
‘ to him, had you been as rash as himself ; and
‘ that you must have had the Patience of *Job*,
‘ or you could not have bore what you did.
‘ Therefore, said I, as he has taken all patient-
‘ ly hitherto, you can do no less than be re-
‘ conciled to him. For if you reflect with
‘ yourself, you will find the young Man to be
‘ your Friend, rather than your Enemy : Espe-
‘ cially as you have given him all the room
‘ imaginable to do you an Injury. And his
‘ not taking hold either of your Words or Ac-
‘ tions, shews he is a Man of a good Conduct
‘ and amicable Disposition. What can you de-
‘ sire more, than a Man endued with such good
‘ Qualifications?

' Qualifications? Do not be unreasonable and
 ' desire Impossibilities; and, since the Knot is
 ' tied, do not harbour an ill Opinion of the
 ' Man; for it behoves all Mankind to defend
 ' themselves to the best of their Power. And
 ' since the new married Couple are come toge-
 ' ther, I would advise you to think it was or-
 ' dained by Providence so to be, which is im-
 ' possible to arm against, neither would it be
 ' prudent to endeavour it; for it would be
 ' bidding Defiance to the Almighty, making
 ' them unhappy, and bringing Destruction on
 ' yourself. Therefore I intreat you to be re-
 ' conciled, by which you will find Comfort
 ' and make them happy; otherwise you will all
 ' be miserable. Now I have told you the Con-
 ' sequence of carrying your Resentment too far,
 ' I hope you will reflect upon it, and am con-
 ' vinced you will find it as I say. For it is often
 ' seen, that Mankind would be glad to reform
 ' their Follies, when their Eyes are open and
 ' past Time to be recalled. The married Cou-
 ' ple, after your ill Usage, may run themselves
 ' into Errors impossible to be retrieved. But I do
 ' not doubt your coming into my Measures, as
 ' you must be convinced in your own Mind, that
 ' what I have spoke in this Affair, was no other
 ' than giving you friendly Advice against your
 ' own Destruction. Not as I apprehend you want
 ' for Knowledge; but you are sensible we are all
 ' of us such Creatures, that we are blind to our
 ' own Follies though we can perceive those of
 ' others, Therefore sometimes to reprimand

‘ each other is very necessary and beneficial,
 ‘ especially when the unruly Spirit is upon us.
 ‘ What do you say, Mr. *Jakeman*? Is it not so?’

He replied, ‘ Mr. *Nicholls*, you speak very
 ‘ right: But there is one Thing I must beg of
 ‘ you to explain. You told me that the young
 ‘ Man had it in his Power to destroy me and
 ‘ my Substance; and I desire to know what
 ‘ you mean by it? ‘ Well then, said I, I will
 ‘ explain it freely to you, though you are con-
 ‘ fused; which, I hope, will bring you into my
 ‘ Way of Thinking. You remember that
 ‘ you treated this young Man inhumanly, by
 ‘ presenting your Gun at him; but finding you
 ‘ were prevented of your vicious Intent, you
 ‘ threatned by some Means or other to take
 ‘ away his Life. Do you not think it was bar-
 ‘ barous Usage? As for my Part, I should not
 ‘ have thought it to have been in your Nature,
 ‘ had not you told it me yourself: And was he
 ‘ to seek for Justice, the Law would condemn
 ‘ you from your own Words. But as I do not
 ‘ find that he desires any Revenge, it shews he
 ‘ has a great Regard for your Person, and much
 ‘ Wisdom in imputing it to your Passion,
 ‘ though I find you are invidious against him;
 ‘ which I think is abominable, as he wishes you
 ‘ no Harm, and would, I dare say, do you all
 ‘ the Service he could, was you but reconciled
 ‘ to him; which I intreat you to be. ‘ Sir, said
 ‘ he, what would you have me do? It made
 ‘ me almost mad, so that I did not know either
 ‘ what I said or did. ‘ Sir, I replied, you need
 ‘ not

' not flatter yourself so, for I really think you
 ' were quite mad, as no one in their Senses
 ' would have acted in the Manner you did.'
 ' Mr. Nicbolls, said he, you are very sharp
 ' upon me.' ' Sir, I replied, you give me Oc-
 ' casion: I would endeavour to assist any one
 ' in a good Cause; but when their unruly Pas-
 ' sions overcome their Senses, I think it high
 ' Time to give them up. For when they
 ' chuse the Father of Evils to be their Advo-
 ' cate, I think it spending my Time in vain,
 ' which I do not chuse to do.' He desired me
 not to take any Notice of what had passed be-
 tween us to any one; and as I found he was
 conscious of his Fault, I gave him my Honour
 upon it, that nothing I should say in this Affair
 should be any ways prejudicial to him.' ' Sir,
 said he, ' I can believe you; and would trust
 ' even my Life in your Hands for Safety, as I
 ' am confident you will never deceive me; and
 ' in this Affair I shall always acknowledge the
 ' Favour you have done me, and be bound
 ' to pray for you during Life.' ' Sir, said I,
 ' now you begin to talk reasonably, one may
 ' discourse with you; for as I knew you to be
 ' a Man of good Understanding, I was surpriz-
 ' ed at your Actions; but since you are pacified,
 ' we will consult about this Affair, and if I can
 ' be of any Service to you, you may depend on
 ' it; but I would have you determine with
 ' yourself what you would have done.' He said
 he did not know what could be done in it. I
 answered, ' As I knew how it was with him,

‘ that if he had given your Wife the Writings
‘ into her own Hands, it would be impossible
‘ to recover them, unless it was clandestinely ;
‘ but as they were a free Gift, I would not ad-
‘ vise him to any such Revenge ; for though it is
‘ said to be sweet in some Things, yet in that he
‘ would find it bitter as Gall. And as you are
‘ old, I would advise you to chuse what is most
‘ palatable, as you have bore a good Character
‘ hitherto, not to part from the World in Ma-
‘ lice. For what a fine Thing will it be, to have
‘ it said, (when your Time comes) that you
‘ parted from the World in Peace? And this
‘ Method will be more consistent, than to la-
‘ bour after what you cannot carry with you.
‘ For upon Reflection you will find, that Riches
‘ will have no Share in saving the Soul ; but
‘ those will be happy whose *Consciences are void*
‘ *of Offence towards God and Man.* And now
‘ I have given you the best Advice I can, though
‘ it is in your Option whether you will be can-
‘ did enough to follow it. But, whether you
‘ are or not, I dare say there is nothing you can
‘ do so well.’ He replied, ‘ Mr. *Nicholls*, since
‘ it is so, I am determin’d upon a general Re-
‘ conciliation, especially as to my Grand-daugh-
‘ ter, whom I always adored, and gave my Ad-
‘ monition to, though she did not regard it ;
‘ neither do I think young Women are capable
‘ of receiving Instructions ; but I shall impute
‘ it to her Weakness and his Cunning, and think
‘ no more of it.’ ‘ Well, Sir, said I, if so, and
‘ you will give me Leave, I will send for the
‘ young

‘ young Man hither, and hear what he has to say for himself.’ He replied, ‘ With all his Heart ; and ordered his Man to fetch you, but you did not think proper to come. But at his Return, I said I would go talk with you at your own House, and he sent the Servant to conduct me to you.’ My Uncle had just finished this Account of their Discourse, when the old Man entered ; for the Servant having run home and told him what he had seen and heard, the old Man thought he could not walk fast enough, therefore ordered him to put the Horses to the Chaise, and drive as fast as he could.

When he came in, he behaved in such an amicable delectable Manner, that I was quite surpris’d ; for it is impossible to imagine the Change there was in him. He went to my Wife, and embraced her with Raptures, and came and shook me kindly by the Hand, and then gave us his Blessing, hoping that we should live comfortably and happily together. We thanked him, and I said to my Uncle, *You have overcome Evil with Good.* The old Man apprehended my Meaning, and replied, ‘ That if he had had but the least Apprehension of my being his Relation, he would have received me kindly at first ; and desired us both to forgive his ill Usage, and hoped he should be able to make us Amends.’ I answered him, ‘ Sir, since it is no worse, I freely forgive you ; though, had you shot me, all that you have in the World would not have been a sufficient Atone-
ment

‘ment for my Life.’ He said, ‘What you say
 ‘is very true: Had I bereaved you of your
 ‘Life, there could have been no Recompence,
 ‘and we should both have shared the same
 ‘Fate. I am glad it hath happened otherwise.’
 ‘Sir, said I, I am glad you are convinced it
 ‘would have been so.’ I then observed to my
 Uncle, ‘It plainly appears the guilty will cast
 ‘the first Stone; and it is an old Saying, *a*
 ‘*guilty Conscience needs no Accuser*, as it will
 ‘both accuse and excuse itself. For Reflection
 ‘strikes such a Terror upon the Spirits, as can
 ‘only be compared to a Hell upon Earth; but
 ‘whether that be any Propitiation for the Sins
 ‘of this World, I leave to the learned.’

Neither the old Man nor my Uncle made me
 any Reply; by which I found my Observa-
 tions were not agreeable to the old Man. So
 I dropt the Discourse, and we sat down together,
 and drank our Bottle a-piece very chearfully.
 I was glad to find the Liquor had such a good
 Effect, as to extinguish those Flames, and mo-
 derate the Sting of Conscience, that darts into
 the Minds of those that are conscious of Evil.
 But a conscientious Man never finds that Tor-
 ment, and his Days are a Pleasure to him. As
 I had shewn the Difference between Good and
 Evil, I thought it prudent to accomplish my
 Design, and drown all Thoughts that would
 not avail me. As I signified before, the Liquor
 had such a good Effect, that the old Man and
 my Uncle were as jocular as if they had been
 but twenty. Therefore I thought it was right
 to

to be as jocular as they, and forget all Grievances, which were all made up at that Meeting, and we parted like sincere Friends; the old Man desiring my Wife and me to dine with him the next Day; and my Uncle said, he would lye at the old Man's, and stay to Dinner on the Morrow for us, on Purpose. We promised to wait on them.

The next Day, when I came to dress myself in order to accompany my Wife, according to our Promise, the Maid informed me, there were none but speckled Shirts clean; and she was very much against my going in one of them, as she said it would look disrespectful at the first Visit. I said, 'Child, do not think I am ashamed of my Profession: On the contrary, I am so proud of it, that I do not care though all the World knew it.' With that she fetched one; but told my Wife, I insisted on one of the checkered Shirts, who said to her, 'Never deny him any Thing, for he loves to have every Thing his own Way, and knows how to make an Excuse for the Shirt; therefore take no Notice, but give him one.' The Maid always observed this Rule afterwards. The old Gentleman sent his Chaise for us; and when we got to his House, I made an Apology for my Shirt, by telling him that I was in two Minds, whether to come or not, as the Maid had neglected washing my Linen, and I had no white Linen clean; so that I was obliged to come in this Garb, or not at all; and hoped he would excuse it. He desired no Apologies, for he should be glad to see me even without a
Shirt;

Shirt; and when we entered the Parlour, my Uncle could not forbear laughing at my checker Shirt. I found by some Hints, that my Uncle had been talking with the old Man about my Course of Life; but all they could say, I knew, would have little Effect on me, as I was bent on going to *Flanders*, so I gave them their Way in every Thing.

After Dinner they asked me what I proposed to follow, to encrease my Fortune? I told them that I must go to *Deddington*, to settle some Affairs there, and afterwards would do any Thing that should be agreeable to them. The old Man seemed very well pleased with the Reply; and I endeavoured to be as affable and engaging as I could, and pleased the old Man to such a Degree, that before we parted, he went to his Scrutore, and gave me a Bank Note of 50 *l.* and a Note payable in thirty Days at *London* for 50 *l.* more. I returned him Thanks, but said, I should never be able to make him Amends for his Favours. He replied, that it was done already, and according as I behaved to my Wife, I should experience more of them, and something more advantageous: 'For, said he, 'I have no Relation I like so well as your Wife, and when I die, all I have shall come to her, if you turn out a good Husband.' But this fine Prospect could not restrain me from acting according to my former Resolutions: And I can say more than Thousands, that I refused a little Estate for seven Years Pleasure. But though I call it Pleasure, Thousands would

would have given that Estate to have been absent from the Noise of those Cannon which I delighted in hearing. The old Man little thought how I intended to dispose of myself, nor of ever seeing me more, but apprehended, that at my Return from *Oxfordshire*, I should settle and be a good Neighbour; and said, it would be a Comfort to him in his old Age to have me so near him. At Parting he wished me a good Journey, and hoped that I would stay no longer than was necessary; but desired me to do my Business effectually before my Return. I told him that I intended to effectuate every Thing before my Return. But he meant one Thing, and I another.

Now I began to think that I had the worst Trial to go through at last; to leave a Wife, such as the Heavens could not produce a more virtuous, and a tender Mother, whom I loved as the Apple of my Eye; which gave me much Trouble. When I returned home, my Uncle came to me, and said with Tears in his Eyes, 'Dear Cousin, as you have accomplished this great Work, and there is such a Prospect of Happiness before your Eyes, I beg of you to be conformable, and please your Relations, by breaking your former Resolutions and Intentions that you observed to me.' I replied, 'Sir, I render you a thousand Thanks for your good Advice; but should think myself undeserving of the Blessings of the Almighty, if I did not endeavour to fulfil my Resolutions, and by so doing to call myself a Man of Honour;

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'nour ; otherwise I should be a Knave, to fall
 ' from a good Inclination for the Love of Pelf.
 ' I am a Man that values my Honour more
 ' than Riches, and ever will maintain it by
 ' Justice. Therefore it is in vain for any one
 ' to endeavour to restrain me by Persuasions ;
 ' for I am not like Men puffed with Riches,
 ' who drop the good Intentions they had be-
 ' fore the Bribe was offered. In fine, Sir, all
 ' the Inducements in Life can have no Effect
 ' upon me, for I shall endeavour to wade
 ' through the Campaign with the same Industry
 ' and Care as I have done through the Seas.'
 As my Uncle found he could do no Good, he
 said, ' Cousin, I am sorry you are so resolute
 ' and opiniative as not to take Advice ; but
 ' since it is so, you must take your Chance ; and
 ' I hope that, through the Goodness of the Al-
 ' mighty, you will be prosperous in all your
 ' Undertakings, and live to enjoy what you
 ' shall acquire hereafter: Though it will be
 ' a Miracle should you escape this second Ex-
 ' pedition, as we are likely to have some bloody
 ' Battles. ' Sir, said I, Providence has hi-
 ' therto been my Friend, and I do not doubt
 ' it's Continuance till we have defeated our E-
 ' nemies.' We bid Adieu to each other ; and
 when he was gone, I began to think of my Mo-
 ther ; and as I purposed to make good my Pro-
 mise and fulfil her Desire, I informed my Wife
 of it, and that there was some Business which
 had not been settled since my Father's Death.
 She agreed to our going, and I took three Places

in

in the Stage-Coach, for myself, her, and her Maid. In the mean Time, she perceiving my excessive Hurry, grew very inquisitive, and said to me, amongst other Things, ' My Dear, I hope you have no Thoughts of going again to Sea, as I have waited so many Years in Expectation of your settling, when you came home; and if you should leave me at last, it would break my Heart.' These Words cut me, but I strove to blind her as much as I could, saying, ' I am surpris'd you should imagine that I have any Inclination for going to Sea again, now I am so happily married, and have such a good Prospect before my Eyes. Sure you must take me for a Fool or a Mad-man, to carry the Burden when I can have it carried for me. Pray, my Dear, do not have such an ill Opinion of me, for I am determin'd to fulfil all my Resolutions, and hope to live to make good all those Deficiencies my frail Nature has been guilty of.' She not knowing how to take my Reply, said, ' Pardon me, my Dear; but I know your Resolution is such as never to fly from your Word, which makes me fear you have promised to go again.' This was too close; therefore I changed the Discourse, saying, ' Pray let us drop this Discourse, which will not avail you, and let us think of pursuing our Journey.' She wept at my slighting her Discourse; but I did not think proper to deceive her by flattering Speeches and lying Lips; but said, ' My Dear, you know my Temper is ne-

‘ ver to make my Intentions known till it is
‘ proper; and I wonder you should teize me
‘ with what I abominate. You perplex my
‘ Soul with so doing, and may occasion me to
‘ do what I never intended.’ She, finding what
Effect it had on me, reflected within herself,
and was very conformable afterwards. We
took Coach, as I observed before, and came to
London, where I staid two or three Days, to
shew her the Diversions of the Town, and then
took Places in the Stage for *Oxford*, in which
pleasant City we staid four or five Days, to
view the Colleges and whatever was observable.
At the Inn where we lodged an Officer quarter-
ed, who joined Company, breakfasted, dined,
and supped with us all the Time we were there.
He finding I had been abroad, we had several
Discourses, with which he was highly delight-
ed, and said I deserved a Ship of my own; but
as he understood I had Money, he would ad-
vise me to purchase a Commission in the Land
Service. I told him I never would buy Ho-
nour, neither did I intend more than to carry a
Firelock, at which I have an excellent Hand,
and might probably do more Execution than
twenty others. He was very well entertained
with my Discourse, and would fain have per-
suaded me to continue there a Day or two long-
er; but I desired to be excused, as I had pro-
mised my Wife to set out the next Day, and
had given Earnest for a Chaise for my Maid.
But had I been alone, I should not have grudg-
ed a Week’s Time. The next Morning we
break-

breakfasted together, and after drinking a Bottle of Sack parted with a hearty Farewel.

We had not gone above two Miles, when I began to reflect how forgetful I had been in not asking the Gentleman's Name and what Regiment he belonged to, and could not help thinking what a brave Opportunity I had lost by having my Wife along with me; and thought how agreeable it would have been at first entering to be with a Man of such Veracity and Sincerity; for I am certain by his Behaviour there would have been a great Intimacy between us, although he was in a Rank superior to what I proposed being in. These Thoughts made the Journey not altogether so pleasant as it used to be. This made my Wife imagine something had displeased me, which she said she could perceive by my Looks. But I did not satisfy her. When we came to *Deddington*, I went to my Aunt *Smith's*, and sent for my poor Mother, who was condoling for me, thinking she should never see me more. As soon as she came, before I had Time to speak to her, she fell into a Fit, which lasted for half an Hour, which they told me she had been subject to ever since my going abroad; and when I asked if any Thing troubled her, she replied, I fear my poor Child is killed. When I heard this, I could not help reflecting what an Effect my going abroad had on my Family: My Father broke his Heart, and my Mother was at Times bereaved of her Senses; which made me curse my unhappy Fate, to be such a disobedient Son.

When my Mother came to herself again, I presented my Wife to her, and she liked my Choice very well, begged God to bless us, and hoped that we might live to see more comfortable Days than she had done; and that I might think of settling after all my Figaries. All this had no Effect on my Inclinations, that were longing to be abroad, thinking every Day a Week, and Week a Month. We spent that Night very merrily, and next Morning I thought it high Time to disclose some of those Thoughts that my Breast contained. Therefore I told my Mother, that I intended to send for my Father's Lawyer, to look over some Writings; which she consented to, and when he came, I told him my Intention in these Words: 'Sir, I purpose to bequeath to my Wife and Mother all my Income during my Absence; and should any Thing happen to me, what I have I leave to them for their Lives: And in case my Wife should bring forth a Child, it shall go to that Child after their Deaths. And beg you will get it drawn up as soon as possible.' He was not long about it; and when it was signed, I said to my Mother and Wife before the Lawyer, *All this I bequeath to you till my Return, which will be in a short Time; though I cannot positively say on what Day: But you may be sure I will be as expeditious as I can.* They were very desirous of knowing where I intended to go; but I put them off by telling them, that I promised to meet a Friend in a certain Place, whom I should be sorry to disappoint.

They asked me if I could not judge the Time within a Day or two, on Account of sending my Linen. I said, to prevent any Thing that might happen, I would take enough to serve me a Month. They were surpris'd at that; and my Mother said, *Dear Child, where can you go for a Month?* I replied, *Dear Mother, you are sensible that I have had no Time upon my Hands since my coming to England; therefore I will take the Opportunity, after I have finish'd my Business, to go and visit all my Relations; which you know will take me up more Time than I can imagine: For I am determin'd to have some Correspondence with them, now I am come home. And if I do not take a Round and see them, they will think me dead: But my Appearance will clear up their Doubts.*

“ And when I've travers'd through this Scene
of Life,

“ Then I'll dwell comfortably with my Wife.

They asked why I left those Writings with them, as they thought there was no Necessity for it; and said that I made as much Preparation as if I had been going for a Twelvemonth. I told them that I thought all Mankind that were married should be cautious of Accidents in Life, and, though the Journey be ever so short, should leave a Will behind them, especially where there is a Family; through the Neglect of which Ruptures have been often caused amongst Relations, and Lawyers have got the biggest Part of their Estates. But I will pre-

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went them having any of mine. This I said, because I was willing they should not know what the Writings meant; and they were both well pleased at my Sentiments; and my Wife said, *your Care is deserving of more than abounds in me*; and my Mother said, *Son, I perceive all your good-natured Actions will be crowned in a Wife, for she has a Capacity more than is common in our Sex: Therefore I beg you to be kind to her, and endeavour to please her; and let me intreat you to think no more of any Frolicks, but study to live comfortably in this World.* These I began to think were not bad Instructions, though from an old Woman. But nothing could restrain my Inclinations from that noble Employment.

I said to them after this Manner; what I am going to signify to you is nothing but Fact; I am determined, after this Journey and my Business is completed, to give myself up to a sober and godly Course of Life, which I am sensible is most agreeable to God and Man; and my Endeavours shall be a Pattern for all Mankind. They did not understand my Discourse, but asked me when I purposed going my Journey, for my Absence would not be very agreeable. I told them, in three Days Time; and, said I, you may depend on it, that I shall not take such another Journey in Haste; neither should I take this, but Necessity obliges me to it. My Mother replied, if it was absolutely necessary, I would have you go in God's Name. I pleased myself with the Thoughts that my long Conference would keep them ignorant of my

In-

Intentions till I could bid my Country Adieu, when it would be Time enough to reveal them. For when any unexpected Disaster happens; a Man is apt to reflect upon himself, 'Oh! had I done such a Thing, I might have prevented the Evil that has brought on my Misfortunes.' Therefore it is impossible for a Man to have too much Precaution in precarious Affairs. I have often thought there was a Possibility of chusing the Good and refusing the Evil; but there is not: For when a Man has endeavoured for the best, it has turned out the reverse. Therefore I will say once more, that Providence is the chief Director and only Guide. When I had made these Remarks, I thought it would be prudent to invent something to divert my Mother and Wife, who were both prodigiously thoughtful. So I sent for my Aunt, who I knew to be a very merry Companion, to expel these vain Thoughts, which I knew would not avail them. And when she came, she said to my Mother, 'Sister, you and my Niece are very disconsolate; let us have a Game at Whist; for I came purposely to be merry with you this Afternoon, and should be sorry to be disappointed of my intended Pleasure.' I brought out a Bottle of Wine, and said, Aunt, this is the first Time I ever had the Pleasure to see you at my House since my Return, therefore I insist on your taking a Glass before Cards. She said, with all her Heart, if her Sister was willing to partake. She condescended, and we passed the Evening over a Bottle very agreeably, my Aunt singing a de-

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lightful Song, and my Wife returning another; so that I was charmed with their musical Voices. My Mother was in the highest Spirits that I ever saw her; which was all owing to my Aunt's Company, for which I returned her Thanks. She said, she should have been glad of the Pleasure of seeing us at her House the next Evening; but that as I was going a Journey, she would defer it till another Time. She asked me how long I intended to stay? I told her, they would either see or hear from me in about a Month. Lord! said she, I thought you did not intend to be gone above two or three Days. But pray then, Sister, do you and my Niece come; and I hope to have the Pleasure of seeing you often during his Absence, for it will be a sort of an Amusement for you. They replied, they would wait on her. She was for going, but I desired her to stay and take a Glass of Usquebaugh: She did, and said it was an excellent Dram, and extremely good of the Sort. I told her, my Father used it by way of a Cordial. She shook her Head, and we parted.

When my Aunt was gone, I thought it would be best to pack up my Things, that I might have nothing to hinder me in the Morning. Accordingly I desired my Wife to give me every Thing necessary; for as I intended to set out early next Morning, it was requisite to get every Thing in Order. When we had done packing, we went to Bed, though I might as well have sat up, for the Sleep I had; and my poor Wife said that she never laid her Eye-lids together

ther all Night, but was very uneasy ; which I was sensible of, though not to her Knowledge, for I lay very still, like as if I had been asleep, but was broad awake. And as I found she was so deeply concerned at my going, it put into my Head the following Lines, which I put into her Hands at parting, and desired her to peruse them in my Absence.

My Dear! it grieves my Soul to part from you,
Though this in Honour I'm compell'd to do.
In you, alas! what boundless Joys I found!
And with Sincerity all those Joys were crown'd.
The Thoughts of parting fill my Eyes with Tears,
And rend my Heart with tender, anxious Fears
For You, to whom I ever shall be true ;
But yet my Queen expects my Duty too.
Her Service now has called me aside,
And of the two I must neglect my Bride.
But pardon, Dearest! 'tis a deep Concern ;
And Providence will skreen me from all Harm.
My Country serv'd, then unto thee I'll fly,
And all thy faithful Deeds will gratify.
Enraptur'd then with thy endearing Charms,
Which even now invite me to your Arms ;
Could I with Truth embrace my Liberty ;
But Honour binds ; and that will set me free.
Then the more constant that I find you prov'd,
The more my Passion will to you be mov'd :
And always praise thee for thy sincere Part,
And this you may believe is from my Heart.

C H A P. XIX.

The Author lists in the Land Service: His success in Recruiting: Lands at Helvoet Sluice: Goes to Ghent and Auterdam: Remarkable Incidents at both these Places.

IN 1706 after I had taken my leave of my Wife and Mother, I made the best of my way to *Oxford*; hoping to find the Gentleman, that I was so well entertained by; though when I came there, to my great Sorrow I found he had been gone four Days. Then I walked about the Town, in a disconsolate manner; longing to hear, if possible, of some recruiting Officers, but was disappointed. For after I made all the Enquiry I could, I found none. Upon this I was very uneasy in my Mind, to think I should be disappointed of my intended Pleasure; and being excessively low spirited, I went to my Inn and got a Bowl of Punch, which in some Measure revived me. Then I sent for my Landlord, and embraced his Company till he was obliged to be carried out of the Room, as he was not able to walk out of himself, being so prodigious drunk that all his Senses were quite taken away. Then I went to Bed and diverted myself, and was excessively chearful with the Thoughts of what the Morrow might bring forth. It being the Market-Day, I hoped it might produce something extraordinary. With these pleasing Thoughts, I laid my Eye-lids

lids together; but as soon as I was asleep, my Thoughts were disperfed in foreign Parts, and I fancied I was exerting myself againft the *French*. But in the height of this I awaked, and found it a Dream. Then I could not help thinking there was nothing but Difappointments in Life, though I imputed it to a Dream, and went to sleep again; but yet was sorry it did not prove true in Fact. In the Morning I awoke and looked out of the Window, and it appeared to me to be a very promifing Day, which I was much delighted with. Therefore I drest myfelf very clean, and put a Cockcade in my Hat. So that feveral took me to be an Officer, but I deceived them greatly, for my Ambition did not rife to that Sphere, but in the loweft Rank of all. There were my Inclinations centred, as the Reader will find. After I had broke my faft, I walked backwards and forwards in the Town, for a confiderable time, till I grew very impatient, and was juft going to give up all Hopes of finding what I wanted that Day. But as I was thinking, I faw at a great way off a red Coat, though at fuch a diftance that I could not difcern any Thing elfe. But to fatisfy my Curiofity I met them, and found them to be what I wifhed for, to my great Joy. Then I went up to them, and asked them what Regiment they belonged to. The Sergeant made answer and told me, they belonged to the Queen's marching Regiment of foot commanded by General *Webb*. I told them that I had as great a Value for that, as any belonging to her Ma-
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jesty's Service. The Sergeant perceiving my
 Cockade, said, pray Sir, what Regiment do
 you belong to? Sir, replied I, I don't belong to
 any at present: Though I intend to belong to
 yours very soon. The Sergeant said, Sir, I wish
 you may, there are several Vacancies in our Re-
 giment which want filling up. Sir said I, I hum-
 bly perceive there doth, or there would be no
 Necessity for your Recruiting. The Sergeant be-
 ing a very brisk Man, answered me in this
 manner, Sir, we don't recruit for Officers, we
 recruit for private Men. Therefore, I said to
 him, would you be pleased to accept of me as
 a private Man. He said, Sir, you will accept of
 something better than to be a private Man, I
 thought they did me a great deal of Honour by
 saying that. Therefore I begged the Favour of
 them to accept of a Glass of Wine, which they
 very willingly received. Though the Reader
 will say that it is a very uncommon Way to
 treat, as the Generality of them expects to be
 treated, before they will entertain, and I verily
 believe there is but few that ever did it besides
 myself. But I strove to be of a different Nature
 from the Generality of Mankind, and that not
 in one Respect only, but in all my Proceedings
 of Life, which were the Result of Deliberation.
 And I found it no Difficulty to be particular, as
 my Intention was good, as you will find. When
 I had treated the Sergeant, Corporal and Drum-
 mer, with a Bottle of Wine, I took the Sergeant
 aside, into another Room, and asked him se-
 veral Questions. But I thought it would be
 prudent

prudent at first to forewarn him, lest he should any ways think that I did it by way of a Joke; for by so thinking, he might suppose that, and carry it on as such, and deceive me. But to convince him there were no such things meant, I begged he would be attentive to what I was going to signify to him. Sir, I said, *I deceive no Man, therefore I hope you will not any ways deceive me, in these Articles. I hope you will be so kind as to inform me, if in your Power, or to the best of your Knowledge, whether you think there is a Possibility of knowing the exact time of your going abroad.* Sir, answered he, *it is impossible of knowing the Day, but I am certain we shall go in about a Fortnight or three Weekes at farthest; for we shall be in London by the latter End of next Week, in order to go.* Well, continued I, *since you go so soon I am determin'd to accompany you there, and from this time I will call myself one of your Recruits, though you need not take any notice to the Corporal and Drummer, no other, than the young Man has a Mind to have a Frolick and march with us to London, you may confide in what I say.* He took my Word till we went to London, though after our long Conference, I desired, *he would acquaint me what Company he was a recruiting for.* He said, *Captain Beschefer's, and no other.* Then I told him, *after he had got his Billet, and likewise got himself clean, I would be ready to assist him in the Town. Come, who knows but through my Instigation you may get several young Men.* And as I said, we did get three very pretty young Men

Men. After this, I took them all to my Inn, and we were excessively merry that Evening, and properly Sons of *Bacchus*, as we were drinking and revelling all the Night. The Liquor had a very great Effect on the young Men, so that it rendered them unfit for travelling till four o'Clock in the Afternoon. So that we did not march far that Evening, though it were in the Road to *London*, that was what I wanted, and as we were a going along the Road the young Men complained that their Heads ached prodigiously. Then I endeavoured to revive them, by saying I intended to have a Bowl of Punch, by way of a Settler and then to go to Bed upon it, and in the Morning I dare answer for it, you will all forget it, or leave it behind you. This in some Measure pleased them, and they were seemingly in much better Spirits than before; therefore they all said, *with all our Hearts*; for they thought it would be very agreeable after Supper. Then I told them, as it had not affected their Stomachs by taking away their Appetite, they would do very well again, I perceived; and according to their Desire I strove to execute every Thing, and bring it to Perfection. So after Supper I desired the Landlord would bring in a Quart of Brandy and a Pint of Rum, likewise Lemons and Sugar, for I purposed to make a large Bowl of Punch and drink it, and then to Bed. Accordingly he brought every thing requisite to make it good, and over the Bowl I asked the Sergeant, *how long he had been recruiting?* He told me, *six Weeks*. The

Reason of my asking him that Question, was because he had no Recruits, but what he got at Oxford. He made me an Answer in this manner, *he had sent up ten Recruits, by a Sergeant belonging to our Regiment.* Then said I, *Come, brother Soldier, we will get Ten more before we reach London, if there is any Possibility of effecting it.* After the Bowl we all went to bed, and in the Morning arose and marched on the Road to London. They were all prodigiously merry; therefore I desired they would keep some of their Spirits, till we should come near *Tetsworth*, or any other Town: For if they exhausted themselves too much then, they would not be able to exert themselves when required. The Sergeant approved of this Advice. When we drew near the next Town I begged they would sing a merry Song, and the Drum might help them out by beating. They observed what I said, and gave true Attention to what I meant; therefore they began to tune up their Voices, when we came near *Tetsworth*, and I joined Chorus with them, so that we alarmed all the Town presently. Then I went into the best Inn, and called for a Gallon of strong Beer to treat the Populace that came round us, and when that was drank I called for another, and desired several of the young Men that came to see us, *to drink what would do them good, though not to gorge themselves.* By virtue of the Beer and our talking, we prevailed on two young Men to go along with us, an Hostler of the Inn and a young Man of the Town, who was going to

to Plough. I prevailed on the latter by saying, *leave your Plough and come along with me, and plough for Riches and Honour, and don't plough for Poverty all the Days of your Life.* He very readily comply'd and told the little Boy to take the Horses home again, and tell his Master that he was going to plough for a better Master. Accordingly the Boy went home and told his Master, and he came to us in a violent Rage, and swore by all that was Good, he would send his Man to Bridewell, if he did not go home with him, and do his Duty. Then I took upon me to speak to him, in this manner, *Sir, I am surpris'd you should put yourself in such a violent Passion, when there is no Necessity for it. I would not have you think it is in your Power to deny the young Man his Talent, or any Thing belonging to him. How could you presume to deny her Majesty, or to usurp what you can't justify? I hope you did not think to frighten me, who have faced a Thousand better Men than you. Come, to make short of my Story, we are in Haste; I beg you will give the Man his just Due, or Necessity will oblige me to take you before a Justice of Peace.* That put him into a panick Fear, so he drew the Purse out of his Pocket, and said, for God's Sake take the Money and let me go. I was glad to hear that. Then I released the Farmer, and went with the young Man to his House, for what Things he thought proper to take with him, and when so done, we all marched for *Higb Wickam*. As soon as we left *Tetsworth*, the Sergeant was prodigiously merry. With

With that I asked him the Reason of his Extasy. He told me, *his Transport proceeded from my Dexterity and artful Inventions. Likewise my Conformity, being so agreeable and suitable to the Commonality of People.* Methinks, said he, *I grudge you your Genius.* I rendered him Thanks for his Compliment, but yet desired he would not begrudge me any Thing; for I should use the utmost of my Endeavours to make him shine in the next Town. But in the mean time I thought it would be proper to keep up our Spirits; therefore we called at *Stoken Church*, and revived ourselves with a large Dram of Rum. Then I thought it would be commendable to proceed forward in our Journey, if we intended to reach *Wickam* that Night. The Sergeant was a little inclinable to stay, but through my Persuasions was prevailed on to go. When we came within Sight of *Wickam*, they all seemingly were prodigiously Leg-weary. Then I thought it would be requisite to try if they had any Courage in them. Wherefore I cut three Sticks out of the Hedge and stuck two in the Ground and put the other across, then I spoke to them all, and said, *I will forfeit a Crown Bowl of Punch, if any of you all jump over this Stick. Come, you shall see me do it first.* When I had done it, they all stript; but some could not jump above half a Yard from the Ground. I thought they were an excessive While about it; therefore I looked on my Watch, and finding they had been above half an Hour, I said, *Gentlemen, I think you are all deserving of what I mentioned;*

mentioned; therefore I would not have you strain yourselves by any means in Life. That made them the more eager about it. But finding it impracticable by them, I desired they would not strive any longer as their Nerves were not in a proper Tone for such Exercise. Let me intreat you to desist, if you have a Mind to prevent any Hurt, that may be very prejudicial to you. The thing is easily done, when your Veins and Fibres are in a proper Disposition. That had some Influence on them, they put on their Clothes, and acknowledged me to be the Conqueror. Then we made the best of our Way to the Town, and got Billets for all the Men. When so done, I desired they would all favour me with their Company, to drink the Bowl of Punch. I thought that might very possibly create in them new Spirits, and by that Means we might increase our Flock, as you will find we did. After we had drank sufficient to make us capable of performing something material, all my Drift was to get a Possie of People together, which was done in this manner. I prevailed on the Sergeant to allow the Drum to beat at the Door, which he did for a considerable Time, and in the mean Time I filled the Bowl once more, and got a Man to carry it about the Town upon his Head, that we might drink Success to her Majesty's Arms. After the Sergeant had made his Speech, my View was to endeavour to get the young Men of the Town to pledge us, and to partake of the Bowl; but they were all prodigiously shy, and afraid to
kiss

kiss the Glass, at first. Then I said, *I don't question but all these Gentlemen have such a regard for her Majesty, that it is not in their Nature to refuse a Glass to her Health, when 'tis offered; if they did, I should not call them any of the Queen's loyal Subjects or Well-wishers to her Kingdom, but look on them as no better than Rebels, and I will take them up as such, if they any ways slight her Majesty in my Sight, either in their Behaviour or Speech.* With that some of them drew in their Horns, and had not a Word to say, but deserted and absconded from us. By that means I found out the true Subject I had to work on, and read their Hearts by their Behaviour. Therefore, I chose those that I thought would be of Service to her most sublime Majesty, which was done by giving true Attention to their Behaviour. Thus I valued myself upon distinguishing their Inclinations and Dispositions. Then I made a Division, some I pen'd in my Mind, and others were cross'd out. By the time we came to our Inn or Place of Rencontre, they all deserted me, but those I fixed my Eyes upon, which were four clean looking Men. I took them into the House, examined them and found them to be what I had been wishing for. After my Application they told me, I had an irresistible Power over them, and they could not withstand the Temptation I had given them, but were willing to condescend to any Thing, that I thought would be for their Good. As they had given me this Preference, I prescribed what was most agreeable to myself,

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which is very natural for a Man, when 'tis put in his Power. First of all, I laid my Case before them, *that I left all that was dear to me in the World, on purpose to go along with this Gentleman, meaning the Sergeant, therefore I shall be proud of the Opportunity of imbracing your Companies, and nothing shall be wanting in me if I can any ways be of Service to you, by bringing you to Preferment.* The poor Men imagined that I was the Officer before I explain'd myself in this manner. Yet they were Men of Resolution, and did not fly from their Words but stood firmly to what they first propos'd. Therefore I called them *Men after my own Heart*, and worthy of that honourable Calling, worthy out endeavouring to purchase them, seeing fair Words would do. I have often made this Observation, and found it to be the only thing Mankind can depend upon, in recruiting; that is, if People's Inclination is to be of Service to the Government, they will be compliable and come into your Measures. Otherwise they will make every thing that is propos'd to them nothing but Difficulties, and need much entreating, which is no Advantage to any one, to seek after them, neither for their Profit nor Credit. I hope this may diffuse itself in all Parts of *England*; for I will aver, it is the material Thing belonging to recruiting, and the only Method I should take was I to go again. But in the mean time, I am a Well-wisher to that Employment, and never shall relinquish my Affection for it, as long as I live.

When

When I had prevailed on the young Men to go along with us, we all went to Supper, and after Supper we drank sufficient to satisfy any moderate Men. Then the Sergeant and I agreed to take a Bedfellow apiece, and the Corporal and Drummer the other two. When it was so agreed, I could not go to bed with a safe Conscience, till we had something hot to drink to our good Repose, which was burnt Wine. Then we were all determined to go to bed upon it, and in the Morning, after Breakfast, we left that Place and marched for Uxbridge. In walking along the Road, I asked all the young Men *whether they any ways repented of their Engagement?* They all made me Answer, *they had no Reason to repent as yet.* Then I said, *Gentlemen, you may confide in what I say, if you apply to me at any time, there shall nothing be wanting in me, if in my Power, to serve you.* They all rendered me Thanks, and were very jocose, which made it a pleasant March to Uxbridge.

On the Road the Sergeant said, he purposed to stay two or three Days there, as there was no Necessity for our being in an excessive Hurry. I thought it would be prudent, as we were to have so much Time upon our Hands, to go into the Town and make some Enquiry, to render us capable of doing something on the Morrow. Therefore we all agreed to take a Round to every Ale House in the Place, on purpose to have a kind of Inspection over the People, to find out their Constitutions. After we had so done, we had a long Consultation about our

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Proceedings, and they all seemingly agreed to these my Sentiments. ' Gentlemen, as our Undertaking is a thing of some Consequence, and of weighty Concern upon my Spirits; I beg you will give true Attention to what I am going to signify to you all. To serve her most sublime Majesty faithfully, you must relinquish all other Thoughts but that only, and give yourselves up entirely to it. This in particular, I would have you all be mindful of, and I don't question in the least but we shall be successful, as there is no other Likelihood at present than to accomplish our Intent. For the young Men, that I conversed with, have all some Veracity in them. You all find, I had reason to study them beforehand. Had I not I should not have invented this Scheme; and you may all depend upon what I say, there is no Good done in this World without Courage and Conduct to guide your Actions. I hope to morrow you will be as diligent and mindful as possibly you can. For I intend to surround them, and by some Means or other put ourselves in a Posture that we may be capable of compassing, and bringing them under our Jurisdiction, or all we can find into our Company at least. For I don't value if I give them a Treat of 20 Shillings. I am sensible that will be a great Inducement to them, and if they are conformable I shall not any ways begrudge my Endeavours, let it be how it will.' Upon that, we were all determin'd

to go to bed, and in the Morning we met together again, and consulted how to act, which was to be in this manner. We agreed to go out in separate Parties and prevail upon whom we could, and then to meet all together again at the Hour of two o'Clock. That was the appointed Time, to apply the Remedy or find the Effects of our Attempts. As we were in four Divisions, every one was to do his best. Through my Instigations I brought Four to the Place appointed, and they prevailed upon Six to come along with them; so that we were a jovial Company, and nothing but Gaiety and Mirth were our Companions. They continued with their Jocosity for a considerable While, till I thought it high time to open the Scenes. I said, *Gentlemen, you have given me such Pleasure, that I shall be very unhappy at the Time of our parting. I could wish to embrace your good Companies often, for my Happiness depends upon such jolly Men as you.* With that they said, *what will you give us to go along with you?* I said, *Gentlemen, you shall have good Usage, which is preferable to Riches. No Man living can desire more, for those that refuse good Liquor and a good Companion, will refuse every Thing that is good. Therefore I hope you will not deny yourselves, of what all the World value before Wealth.* They all made Answer, that I gave them such Incouragement, that they could not tell how to avoid going along with us. That delighted me much, and my Spirits rose to such a Height, that I was capable of doing any thing. Then I said,

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Gentlemen, since you are so condescending and of such yielding Natures, let me prevail upon you all, to make out this Evening with all the Mirth we can invent. They all agreed to that, and said, as they were never so well entertained in their Lives, so they would embrace this Opportunity, lest they should never have such another. I said, if they would go with me, their Days would be a Pleasure to them; though now a Fatigue and a Burthen. Who would be a Slave when in their Power to be otherways? those words, they said, determined them to go with us. Upon this I called for a Bowl of Punch, and we were excessively merry all the Evening, till Sleep overcame them, or the Liquor affected their Brains, and then I was obliged to put them to bed. For a further Safeguard, I gave the Drawer a Crown to sit up all Night to watch them for fear they should rise before us, and give us the Slip. I needed not to have done this; for they did not any ways reflect on themselves, but were seemingly pleased with our Evening Proceedings, and wanted to be in *London*. Therefore I thought proper to intimate to the Sergeant, what they had declared to me. Then he condescended to go about ten o'clock. They all were prodigiously pleased, and we had a pleasant Walk to *London*.

When we came there, we made the best of our way to the Tower, and found we were to continue there four or five Days. I was glad to hear that, upon the account of my having an Opportunity of receiving the 50 *l.* which my
Wife's

Wife's Grandfather gave me. So the next Morning I took a walk in the Town, and went and received my Money. Then I returned to my Station again, and made myself merry with the Recruits all the time of our being in the Tower. But I had like to have turned out the unthinking young Man, by neglecting till the last Day, a thing that I thought of great Consequence, taking up Bills of Exchange for my Money. This was very necessary to prevent any Disaster. I luckily changed my Money into Paper, and returned to the Tower again. Then I began to think, as my time was so short in *England*, it would be grateful in me to send a Letter to my Wife, to let her know my full Intention before we parted, of which I gave her a hint only. But I thought that not sufficient, as it did not explain my Intention fully. Therefore I was fully determined to go and indite two or three Lines to her which were as follow.

My Dear,

AS I have entered into so near an Alliance with you, I am conscious to myself that I have incur'd your Displeasure; but I hope you will impute it to it's real Cause, an earnest Desire of going into *Flanders*, to be assisting to her Majesty's Forces. And as her sovereign Commands are undeniable, it admits no Hesitation. I know you are so discreet as to distinguish that it is not out of Disregard to you, but from a longing Inclination to defend a good Cause. Therefore I beg it may not create any Uneasi-

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ness in you or my Mother; and that neither of you be any ways dismayed at it. I am going this instant to bid *England* farewell, for a Term, to give Proofs of my Loyalty and Faithfulness, which I hope I shall always be able to support against the Temptations of this World. So I conclude with my sincere and affectionate good Wishes to you, with whom I will join my Mother in Prayers for ever.

Matthew Bishop.

When I bid *London* adieu, we all went aboard of a Hoy, and made the best of our Way to *Harwich*. There we continued some time, till Recruits of other Regiments came up in order to go in the same Vessel. All the time of our Continuance, we diverted ourselves with some Feat of Activity or other. One Day in particular we were all extremely merry and went to jumping by the Sea Banks. One Sergeant *Littler*, belonging to *Godfrey's* Regiment, beat us all in jumping. Since, for his Valor, he has obtained a Company in the first Regiment of Foot-guards. But as I observed before, we were daily playing the Wag, and as jocular as ever Men were all the time we stayed there, and when we left that Place we steered our Course for *Hekvoet Sluice* in *Holland*, and the Wind being fair for us, made it a pleasant Sail. As soon as we came there, there were Orders given for another Vessel to carry us to *Sass Ghent*. Before we could reach that Place we met with a contrary Wind, which very much

much damaged our Vessel; but all the Sailors were vigorous and did their Business with Courage. I was assistant to them, for I spliced several Ropes that were broke in the Hurricane. At the same time, some of our Men were prodigiously affrighted, and others very sick, but I did in some measure revive them by saying it was a Trifle and not worth speaking of, for there was no Appearance of Danger before us. By that Method I heartened them.

With some Difficulty we arrived at *Sash Gbent*, where we landed and had Orders to march to *Gbent*, which is four Leagues distant. We were not long in marching that Ground over, for all of us wanted to be at the Place of Rendezvous. When we came there we found that our Regiment were in the *Spanish* Castle, which we made for. Then we were ordered to our Barracks and on the Morrow we all received our Arms and Accoutrements fitting for a Soldier. As I was in a strange Place, I had the Curiosity to walk in the Town, and was very inquisitive in asking about every particular Thing that was worth my Observation. Here I accidentally met with several of my Countrymen, who were overjoy'd to see me. They were Men of Substance, and my particular Acquaintance, which made my Continuance very agreeable. They desired to see me often, without any Ceremony at all, and between them I had my chief Subsistence all the time I continued there. For I frequently used to go to them, so that I became a great Visitor. But I always observed to be ready

ready in the Barracks when called for. Yet the Men began to grow jealous of me, thinking I had more Favour shewed me than others, by going out so often. But I told them, that I was sorry my going out should create in them such a Jealousy, and that I had taken the Liberty of myself. Then there was a Report made to the Captain of my Proceedings. But the Captain did not give much Attention to it, as I found by the Return of the Corporal, which was that the Captain thought it too great a Fatigue for me, to go out at Nights, as I was to learn my Exercise to be fit to go into the Battalion. I made Answer, that no one need be in Care for me, in regard to my Exercise, as I was not far to seek for it, and would soon be able to do it effectually. So the Men finding the Report had but little Effect with regard to me, it silenced their Clamour, and they never were guilty of the same again, but always after shewed me some Respect, and were seemingly afraid to offend me. And in truth I gave them no other room than to be observing; for my Behaviour was such that they could not well avoid it without being determined to keep out of my way, as you will find.

As the Corporal had made so favourable a Report, I took him to the Canteen, and gave him what he would drink. Before we parted he told me, all the Recruits were to go out in the Morning, and the Officer would be there in order to see how they all performed. I told him, I certainly would be there, that they might

might see my Performance, it being the first time that I had been out with them. As soon as the Officers appeared, the Adjutant perceived me and said to the Corporal, why do you suffer that Man to be with those awkward Dogs, and called me in this manner, *Sir Cloudsley come here.* I obeyed his Command, and after he had asked me several Questions, which I very readily resolv'd, he said, *I have a Nation you can do your Exercise.* I told him, *I thought it my Duty to be conformable to the Will of the Corporal, notwithstanding I had some Idea of the Thing; but to please the Ignorant, I came into their Measures.* With that he desired to see some of my Performance. Being a very brisk Man he acted with his Cane, and desired I would observe his Motions and follow him. After I had so done, he desired I would go through it alone, accordingly I did; and with more Life and Vigor than before. He finding that, desired the Corporal would not let me go out, but when the Battalion went. So I took my farewell of accompanying the Recruits to exercise any longer. But still I was for bringing them forward as much as possibly I could, for I took them all by turns, and gave them a private Lesson unknown to any but myself, and I found that did in some measure improve myself, by giving me the true Air that a Soldier should have.

One Day I chanced to espy the Major and my Captain, as they were walking upon the Parade, as I was diverting myself with some of the Recruits. Soon after, I heard a Voice call me,

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me by my Name, though I could not distinguish whose it was at first. But the second Call I perceived it was the Captain's. With that I ran to him; and as soon as I appeared before him, he spoke to the Major, and said, *this is the Man the Adjutant told us of.* The Major said, *he hoped I would turn out a good Man, and according to my Behaviour I should be preferr'd.* With that I said, *Gentlemen, you will find, that all my Proceedings will be deserving if Fortune favours me.* I gave them the Oeconomy of my Behaviour in the Sea Service, with which they were highly diverted, and each gave me a double Shilling. Though at that time I had Money enough, yet I thought it would be a piece of Rudeness to refuse a Gentleman's Kindness, therefore I accepted it. But nothing vexed me, but being grudged it by the Recruits, which I found out by their saying one to another; *when will the Captain serve us so?* On my hearing that, I said to them, *Come, my Boys, the Major and Captain have given us something in order to make ourselves merry withal. Therefore by Consent let us all go and drink their Healths.* I did this to prevent their imagining that the Officers had not as much regard for them as for me, at least I endeavoured to make it appear so to them: For I was always afraid of the evil Influence of Jealousy, which renders Mankind capable of performing every Thing that is bad: And it was ever my Study to prevent it's bad Effects. Officers, especially, ought to be careful of disgusting those under their Command, by arbitrary

trary Prejudices against one more than another, as it often proves fatal to them in time of Action. But if all Mankind was of my Mind, there would not be such Slaughter amongst the Officers as there sometimes is. I will aver, a good Officer I prized as the Apple of my Eye, and I have often exposed my own Body to the Shot, with a View to save a good Commander, especially when I found them somewhat slow to enter upon Action; for, they were not always disposed to be vigorous till after the second or third fire. Then indeed none so active as they. Providence has directed me to aid and assist Thousands, and I was proud of doing a good Office to my Superiors, as well as to my Inferiors. Thus I fought from a good Principle, and had the good Fortune to escape all Dangers, as the Reader will find.

In the Spring, we marched from *Ghent*, to a certain Place where we encamped, I think it was about a League from *Ulcey*, though we continued there no longer than one Night, and in the Morning had Orders to march to *Auter-dam*, a place of Rendezvous. While we continued there, I was prodigiously active in inventing some new Project or other, and one in Particular I remember well. As there was a general Complaint amongst our Men for want of Liquor, I consulted within myself, how I might produce something unexpectedly. When my Consultation was over, I was fully determined to use the utmost of my Endeavour to bring my Intentions to Perfection, which was

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as follows. I prevailed upon some of *Sir Richard Temple's* Men to go along with me, to prevent our Men suspecting what Stratagem I had fallen on for their Relief. I thought the more unexpected it was, the more kindly it would be received, and it would give more Pleasure in the End to keep them in Suspence for some Time. For these Reasons I thought it prudent not to let any of our Men know my Intentions, except those I took with me. All the other I excluded from the Secret as the Reader will find. I marched with the aforesaid *Sir Richard Temple's* Men, to a certain Place of the River, where I jumped in. The clear Bottom deceived me greatly, but I made shift to ford it, though my Head did not appear above one Inch upon the Surface of the Water. All the other Men said they would see me over before they would attempt it, and when I had got over, they were intimidated till Shame got the better of their Fear, for they were much taller Men than I. None of us could swim, which was a Disadvantage to us at that Juncture of Time: Though we had the good Fortune to get over safe but with some Difficulty. But the Thoughts, or the Sight of some Houses on that side, stifled every Thought of dangerous Obstructions in our way. At a distance the Houses appeared as if they would produce something good, or at least what our Men much wanted. We went to several and used them so civilly, that they were not under any Apprehensions of what we wanted. But I did that with a View to see what Stock

of Liquor they had. Then I came round to the first I went to, and demanded a Barrel of Beer. I think the Vessel might contain about fifty Gallons, *Winchester* Measure. The People were unwilling to part with it, but I told them I thought they could very well spare one out of so many, and after a pretty long Conference, they complied with our Request and were extremely civil. But all their Care was, how we should carry it. I told them I would go to one House more, and call as we came back. Yet I thought it would be prudent to let one Man stay and watch it, lest they should put any Thing in it, that might be pernicious and destructive to us. Thus I kept a watchful Eye over them, to prevent the evil Influence of their Envy. For I was not sure but they might envenom the Whole, without any Remorse of Conscience. And I thought it a Thing of so great Consequence that we could not be too careful. I found they had some Suspicion of my Jealousy, and it caused them to say more than was agreeable; but I did not mind their ill Words. I thought there was a Duty incumbent upon me steadily to prosecute what I had undertaken, without minding other Persons Reflections. By that Means I was very Illustrious amongst Men of my Profession, and had the Esteem and Approbation of my Superiors, as the Reader will find, after this Stratagem is over. When we left the House, I desired the Man would observe my Commands while I went to Visit another. When we came there,

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the People were seemingly in a Quandary, and somewhat surprised. Therefore I said, *Let nothing daunt you, for we are not come with an Intent to do you an Injury; but for what I am certain you will not deny us. A Barrel of the same Beer we tasted before will be very acceptable, as you have a sufficient Quantity, you will hardly miss that.* Whether it was through Fear or Astonishment, I cannot say, but they very readily granted our Request, and I believe they would have given us any Thing. But I abominate an unreasonable Creature; therefore I would not suffer any one to do an ill Thing in my Company. Most of them knew my Temper so well that they seldom attempted to do any Thing but what I approved of, and one may needs think it was a great Pleasure to me to see them all so condescending. Even all I conversed with were very submissive, and I took Delight in making up their Deficiencies. Yea at that Time I valued my Station preferable to that of a commissioned Officer: So that I was never desirous of any other Preferment, than what Fortune would oblige me to receive by flying into my Arms. And in truth, one seldom hears of any Preferment without earnest Applications and Solicitations, but that was contrary to my Nature, for my Employment and Study were chiefly amongst the Commonalty, in redressing Grievances, and by so doing I gained great Applause, as you will find in the whole Course of my Life.

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But I think it will be requisite to acquaint the World; how I contrived to bring the two Vessels of Beer to our Regiment. First of all, we borrowed some Cords, but with an intent never to return them again, though the People very readily furnished us with what I thought sufficient. Then we got both Vessels together and rolled them down to the River side. Here we made use of our Cords, and tied them both together and set them afloat. I had a long Rope in my Hand, and others had long Poles to keep it from the Bank side. This was our Method of drawing it along the Water, till we came as far as it was necessary. Then I encouraged the Men by saying that they were gallant Men and afraid of nothing, and it so appeared; for they all got into the Water, though it was above their Depth in some places; but they all struggled through, and when they were upon the other side, I threw the Rope over so as they might pull it, and I jumped across the Vessels, and in this manner got over upon dry Land. When I was over, I found there was some Difficulty in getting the Vessels out of the Water, but at last I invented a Thing that did it very easily. I drove two Pieces of Wood into the Earth and tied two Ropes to them, then I put the Ropes under the Vessels and brought them over the Middle of each, and with great care forewarned the Men to pull steady. They observed my Directions, and it answered my Intent. Then we had not far to go before we

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came to our Regiment, where we had Spectators enough to see what we had got.

Then I said to the Men that were my Assistants, take one Vessel and dispose of it as you think proper. With that they sold it for Threepence a Feltmate, a Measure that contains about three Pints *English*, and when they had disposed of all theirs, I thought proper to dispose of mine, in this manner; I gave every Man that thought it worth coming after, as much as he could conveniently drink, and when I had so done desired they would fetch their Canteens, as we were to march on the Morrow. I told them that I thought it would be very acceptable upon the March, and while I was filling their Canteens, there came two Officers up to me, and asked me several Questions which I readily resolved, and they were highly diverted to see my Transaction; and when they left me they said one to the other, that Man has a Paternal Love and his Intentions are just. I could not help thinking it was saying a great deal of me, but I knew at that time that a Word from me, had as much Influence over the Men, as any Officers Orders belonging to our Regiment, More than that, if I held up my Hands they knew what it meant; and I could have Hundreds to obey my Command by a word speaking. Therefore no one can conceive, the Happiness that I concealed in my own Breast. Nay, if they had given me a Company I don't think it would have been any Addition to my Joy, as it

was in a superlative Degree. For I would not have the World think that Happiness consists altogether in such a Sphere of Dignity, as Preferment, which certainly is due to none but those that deserve it. I censure no Man; only give me leave to speak the true Sentiments of my Heart, before I go any farther; I was as happy in my Station, and enjoyed as much Peace and Satisfaction in my own Breast, as possibly the Duke of *Marlborough* could in his. No Man was superior to me in that, or happier than I was. I can challenge the whole Globe, upon the same.

C H A P. XX.

The Author leaves Autredam, and marches to Brussels: The manner of his being taken Prisoner by the French and his Escape from them.

AS I have acquainted the World of the true Disposition of my Heart, and the Oeconomy of my Behaviour hitherto, I shall now proceed forward to the rest of my Actions. The Relation is my own, and I never will disown any Fact contained in it; but I shall receive an additional Comfort to my Veracity if I live to see, and answer all the Objections and Aspersions cast upon my Reputation. But as to my Language I hope the Reader will be candid enough to excuse it; and have no room to dislike my Actions, as they were performed with Fer- vency, as he will find.

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When we left *Autredam*, we marched in the Road for *Brussels*, and when we came under the Walls it rained prodigiously. Though it was in the Night our Men were not in the least discouraged, and at the Dawn of the Day we were in hopes the Rain would cease. But it continued with the same Constancy as before. I was pleased to see our Men were not in the least disheartened, and it plainly appeared so. For we had made a very expeditious March, and it was requisite so to do, as the *French* were upon a direct Line, and we had a half Moon to go round; and when so there is no halting till we have accomplished our Intent, and as good Luck would have it we did so. But at the same time Night and Day were our Companions: Yet we gloried in our Bravery and were all animated to a great Degree, so that we prevented the *French* of the Ground at *Maldoar*. Had we not we should have lost a very plentiful Encampment, where all Kinds of Provision were reasonable enough, which suited most of our Men best.

At the time of Harvest, I was upon Guard at the Duke of *Marlborough's* Quarters, and at that Juncture of Time, there were Orders to go a foraging for the Duke. I remember well, we went beyond *Tarlemount*, and entred into a Field of Wheat, where some were bound and some unbound. Though had it all been in Sheaves, we should have been more expeditious than we were. Notwithstanding the Condition it was in, we loaded ten Waggon in less then an Hour;
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and when we had so done, as we were coming from that Place, at a narrow Pass there were some Disputes arose, and they were determined we should not come that way. Upon this, I went up to them and said, *Gentlemen, I hope you will not refuse this Forage.* They asked me, *whose it was?* I told them, then they changed their Notes and said pass here *Marlborough*, all is welcome that belongs to him. I was sensible that his Name would have some Influence over them, knowing that never a Man in the known World bore such an extensive Character as he did. I have often said to our Men, by way of Encouragement, *that the Name of him is better than ten thousand Men*; and it was very justly observed. For it struck a Terror wherever it went, and it was of a great Extent. But yet, at the same time his Enemies loved him for his good Usage. I must needs confess, that the known World could not produce a Man endu'd or capable of more Humanity than he was, and all Honour was due to him, for what he promised he would perform, and for his Wisdom and extensive Goodness, God prospered all his Undertakings and Endeavours. I could see it, daily, therefore I thought it my Duty to intimate it to others, lest they should any ways be intimidated by any Notions whatsoever, that might be hurtful to us.

When we left *Meldoar* we marched all Night for *Aurta* where we encamped at a Distance, and to the best of my Knowledge, when we were come to the Ground appointed for the

said Camp, it was about twelve o'Clock. Then every Man was to get something to lye upon, in order to keep him from the Surface of the Earth. I spy'd at a great distance a Boor's House. With that my Comrade and I agreed to go both together, thinking to get some Straw, but were prevented as you will find: For my Companion was deprived of his Life, by the Partisan Party, and I very fortunately escaped losing mine. I impute my Preservation to Providence, as they flash'd in the Pan at me. As it was so ordered, I was obliged to surrender and put myself under their Jurisdiction, till Opportunity would serve, to make my Escape. Which I did as prudent as I could, by giving way to all their Proposals. Though I was so condescending, they behaved to me in a barbarous, cruel and inhuman Manner. In the first place, two Men, in whose Custody I was left, took my Waistcoat from me, and likewise deprived me of all I had in my Pockets. Nothing vex'd me, but their taking from me a Silver Snuff-box, in which my Wife's Picture was concealed. That in some Measure would have render'd me capable of destroying them, had I been the least armed in Life, as I began to be resolute, for they punch'd me with their Firelocks till I began to be very sore and feeble from the Effect of their Blows. But I thought it in vain to contend with those Villains, being unarmed, and nothing on but my Shirt to skreen me from their Cruelty. As the Partisan Party had left me to the care of those two Men, I believe they
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did not think that I was a human Creature by their Usage, for I thought they had given me sufficient, though I found it otherways. For when they had taken me into a thick place in the Wood, they threw me down, and took all the Money out of my Breeches Pockets. I think it was about twenty two double Shillings they had taken from me, and that would not satisfy them, but they were for taking the Buckles out of my Shoes. Those I was unwilling to part from, therefore I made some Resistance till I was almost spent, through the Weight of their Firelocks over all parts of my Body. Even my poor Head was beat to a Mummy, that it was swelled as big as two Heads. The Party hearing me, sent the Corporal, and as soon as he came he was in a violent Rage with them, for their ill Usage. Then he said to me, *Get up Countryman, a Hair of your Head shall not be wronged.* I was scarce able to make him an Answer, but yet I did as well as I could, though I was excessively low spirited, and scarce able to stand on my Legs. But I was like a Cock that crows as long as he can. Therefore I said, Sir, I should not have valued my Hair, had they not bruised my Flesh, and not only that, but taken my Money and Snuff-box, nay they would have deprived me of my Life, had not you come at this Juncture. The Corporal seemingly had some Humanity in him. I understood he meant they were as bad as their Collectors or Highwaymen that can't be contented with Money but must bereave People of their Lives,

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which I think intolerable. I could perceive what he said to them had a great Influence over them, and put them in a panick Fear. Then I thought there was a Duty incumbent on me, to render him Thanks for his Civilities.

When I had so done, they took me to the Party; and the Officer asked, *Whether I was willing to serve my own King?* I told him, *I would do any thing rather than lye Prisoner; but yet I am afraid I shall be but of little Service to any, after the barbarous Usage I have received from the Hands of those two Villains.* He desired to know their Cruelty. Then I said, *Sir, I will tell you my Grievance. If you would be pleased to restore to me the least Glimpse of your Favour, I beg you to order those Men to return what they very possibly may call their own.* With that he began to talk to them more than I could understand. But they very readily gave me all they had taken from me. Then I said, *Sir, after they had taken this from me, they bruised me in this Manner, that I am scarce able to lye, walk, or stand; and not able to put my Hands so high as my Head.* I understood that he desired I would pull off my Shirt; therefore I did, and was surpris'd myself, to see my Flesh appear like a Negro's. The Officer, seeing what a Condition I was in, gave Orders immediately that they should be secured. With that they were disarmed and taken away by a File of Musketeers. I must needs own, the Officer was extremely civil, and hoped I might do well again, and that I should not want

want for Encouragement, if I would continue with them. Then he ordered me what I had a Mind to eat. It being at a Boor's House, I had a Mind to have some new Milk turned into a Posset. I thought that might somewhat revive me, as I felt myself prodigiously feeble. I found myself sick at the Heart, and was in a great Agony; therefore I thought hot Suppings would be best to nourish the inward Man, and drive out any thing that might be corruptible by the Influence of those Blows. The Method I took I believe was my Preservation; for I often thought that I was just going to expire. Though after I had eaten, I began to be chearful; and the Officer, seeing I was a little more lively than before, clapped me on the Back, and said, *Come, never fear, you will do again, I don't doubt.* And they all were very jocular one with another. But I was prodigiously thoughtful as we walked from that Place, contriving how I might make my Escape from their Hands. Being excessively sore and feeble, I began to reflect with myself, that their Cruelty was owing to my Obstinacy, in not giving Way to all their unreasonable Commands; which a Man ought to do, when environed round by such inhuman Creatures, who have no Remorse of Conscience, or Compassion for any of our Religion; but would sacrifice us all, if in their Power. As I was thinking, they espied three more Men, whom they took Prisoners; and had I not been there, they would have shot at them; but my saying, *Don't shoot them,*

them, it will be much better to preserve their Lives, by aiming at something else ; and I don't question but it will intimidate them to such a Degree, that they will surrender, and readily come into your Measures, had some Influence on them, and restrained them from acting like our *English* Sportsmen, who let fly at the Game as soon as it appears. I can compare it to nothing else, as they gave us no Quarter. And I used to say, they were like Foxes seeking their Prey, but yet afraid when they met any, to rencounter with them. They are Men that will shew their Dexterity upon those that have nothing to defend themselves. Their Valour consists in that only : For I found out their Natures presently ; and was surpris'd to find Mankind could be guilty of such Inhumanity.

I grew very impatient e'er I deserted them, but I began to please myself with the Thoughts, that they would not in the least suspect my making my Escape, as I was almost disabled. As we were marching from one Place to another, all in the Evening, of a sudden, I heard the Tattoo of the *English* Army beat. That animated me to such a Degree, that I could scarce feel the Ground I walked upon ; though I kept my Joy to myself. For I was determined in my own Mind to fly from the *French*, as soon as I saw an Opportunity, or a convenient Place, let the Consequence be what it would ; and accordingly I did. As we were in a Wood, I accidentally saw a Path upon the right, though I was at first afraid to venture
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into it. But Courage soon darted into me, and I ran for my dear Life. They did not so much as fire one Piece after me; by which I found they did not perceive me; it being so excessive dark amongst the Trees. I think I ran almost two Miles in the Wood, and at last very fortunately came upon the right of the *English* Line. As I appeared, the Sentinel belonging to our Allies advanced Guard immediately challenged me, and obliged me to stand. I very readily complied. Then he called a Corporal; and when he came, he bid me advance, and obliged me to follow his Horse as close to his Tail as I could conveniently walk. Behind me there was another with his drawn broad Sword in his Hand, and that was the Method they took to conduct me to the grand Guard. When they had so done, the Officers examined me before I could be admitted to go any farther. I made them as sensible of my Condition as I could, which gave them some Satisfaction. So when I had explained myself in every Particular as well as I could, they gave Orders for a File of Musketeers to convey me to the Quarter Guard. When I came there, I so intimated to the Officer, that I had past all my Examinations, and all my Conveyances, that I was exempted from any farther Interruption: I had answered when challenged, and I thought that was sufficient. My Tongue was in a perpetual Motion, till I came to *Webb's* Regiment; for the Flank and Quarter Guard were continually challenging me. The Multiplicity of Words made me so hoarse,

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hoarse, that I was obliged to evacuate, to prevent any Disputes that frequently arise from the unthinking Man. Though I was much jaded before I could enjoy the Sight of our Regiment, I have often thought that my Nature was indefatigable. I had Cause enough to complain at that Juncture; but yet I was pleased in my own Mind, to think that I was arrived, though with some Difficulty, and in great Agony. When I came to the Regiment I belonged to, they were all seemingly in high Spirits at my Return; especially those that had any Knowledge of me. I was surprised to see that general Dilectation for so insignificant a Thing as me. After they had congratulated one another upon my Return, they told me, they heard my Voice above a Mile. Then the Serjeant, belonging to the Company I was in, desired that I would go with him to the Captain; and when I came to his Tent, the Serjeant told him that I was come back. With that he desired I would walk in; and when I appeared before him, he asked me several Questions. Then I was obliged to discover the Enemy's barbarous Usage of me. He told me, it was well they did not bereave me of my Life; and perceiving a Change in me, gave me a large Glass of Wine, and desired I would go to my Tent, and lap myself up warm; for by so doing I might enjoy my perfect Health again. Likewise he said he would talk to the Colonel on the Morrow about my Adventures.

Just as I parted from the Captain, there was a poor Fellow came running up to me, seemingly struck with Fear in such a manner, that it was insupportable and he could scarce utter his Words: Yet I presently understood what he meant. Wherefore I told him that the young Man that was with me unfortunately lost his Life, and he was quite dead before I left him, for I was not a Yard from him when he dropt. Then I found he wanted me to describe his Person, and when I had so done, he said, *it was my Brother*. He was tormented with excessive Grief, and wept so prodigiously that I thought I should never have been able to have pacified him. Yet I used the utmost of my Endeavours to bring him to understand, that all Flesh was born to die, and at last my Applications had some Influence on him, and he was convinced what I said was right. I was glad to see my Discourse had it's desired Effect, but at the same time I was very unfit to expose my Body to the cold; but it was not my Nature to leave any one in Agony, when in my Power to relieve them. Therefore, I thought there was a Duty incumbent upon me to unwrap or unfold my Sentiments, when required.

It is no Advantage to any one to bury their Talents in the Ground, and yet there are thousands, who scorn to have any Conversation with their Inferiors; but I think it is an Act of Prudence, to shew their Affability, let a Man be in the highest Degree of Dignity. They little

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think what Encouragement it gives the Commonalty of Mankind; if they did, they would not carry themselves so stiff, nor thirst after that ambitious overrating Spirit; or that Diabolical Nature that increaseth from a small Spark of Encouragement: Therefore if a Man would but reflect with himself, I dare say he would find it as I have observed. Though I think it impossible for a Man to be insensible of these my Sentiments, even the meanest Capacity in Life, if they indulge a calm Reflection. But if they are above looking upon the Ground, it is hard to distinguish the different Produce that proceedeth from it. Now the Man that gives true Attention can discern the different Natures of every thing that springeth forth. O how sweet, nay it caused in me insuperable Delight, when I had restrained them from a bad Inclination! I took Delight in so doing. The poor Man for the Loss of his Brother would have laid violent Hands upon himself, had not I prevented him, therefore I rejoiced that what I said had so good an Effect. And if what I could say, had that Influence, what must Men of profound Knowledge and Experience have done? Though I will leave the World to reflect a little, while I go to my Tent in order to rest myself.

C H A P. XXI.

Account of the battle of Oudenard; and of forcing the French Lines by the Duke of Argyle: The Author goes into Quarters with an account of their Oeconomy in the Barracks: Encomiums on the good Conduct of the Generals of the Allies: End of the Campaign in 1707.

WHEN I came there, I laid myself down, and I had but just laid my Eyes together, before I heard the General beat, with that I got up, and looked about me, and it was not long after that before they beat to Arms or the Tros, and marched soon after. The Officers would have had me to have staid behind and come up with their Baggage, but I begged they would excuse me, and let me go with the Regiment, so long as I had Hand or Limb to help myself. Those Words prevailed upon them to let me go. I gratefully acknowledged it as a Favour that was I not excluded, but admitted to go with my Brother Soldiers. I think it was a little after two in the Morning before we left the Camp, and very late before we came to the Ground marked out for us that Night. In the Morning early we marched for *Oudenard*, where we had Business enough as it fell out; but the Day being far spent, and the Night drawing near, and thick and cloudy withal, prevented us doing a great deal more Execution than we did; though we had the Advantage

tage of them. You will find, the Regiment I belonged to took Part of the Brigade; but I could not help pleasing myself at our Appearance. The *French* were very merry with their Drums and Pipes, who made a great Harmony; but we soon changed their musical and harmonical Notes, by the Salute of a warm Fire, that made great Havock amongst them, and put them into great Confusion. I could not help thinking it was owing to God's providential Power that we got the better of them, as they had the Advantage of us in the Ground, and likewise were superior in Number; which are two great Articles. Besides, we had just come off a long March, which was more extraordinary. But we beat them till we obliged them to relinquish all their Posts, and retire in great Haste; though we were not in a Capacity to follow them; but continued there in order to bury our Dead on the Morrow.

But here I think proper to tell you how we disposed of the Prisoners. We took them to *Oudenard*; but when we first took them, there happened to be an obstinate *Frenchman* that resisted, and refused to lay down his Arms; though he was just before the Colour Platoon. One Ensign *Turner*, a very active young Man, therefore ran up to him, with the Colours in his Hand, and obliged him to lay his Arms down by Violence, though he unfortunately broke the Colours about a Foot, and it was done by the Buckle of his Pouch. But the *Frenchman* for his Obstinacy was closely confined.

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Another Thing I was under a great Concern for was, that the Lieutenant, who belonged to the Company that I did, was shot through the Head. I had Reason sufficient to be concerned; for he was a particular Friend of mine; and I believe if he had lived, I might possibly have received a great many Favours; for as he spoke with a great deal of Sincerity, I think one might have confided in him. He seemingly was a Man that had a great deal of Sagacity, which I thought might have turned out greatly to our Advantage; and we could very ill spare such Men, especially at that critical Juncture. I was struck so much that I could not rest in my Mind, neither could I sleep though I wanted Rest, as I was not recovered of the ill Usage which I had received from the *French* before. But by this I received no Damage at all, only was in Pain for my Fellow-Creatures, especially in the Morning when I came to visit the Dead, in order to bury them.

I found, the Number of the Enemy's slain exceeded ours; and this pleased me much, as it was an undeniable Proof of our having got the Victory. However, I was a little surpris'd to see that the *Danish* Guards had been cut off in such a Manner as they were. I remember well, that they filled a very long Ditch; and we were obliged to lay them Heads and Points, or double; so that there was a large Piece of Ground enriched with human Blood, besides great Quantities of dead and wounded that were carried into Houses. I had a Mind to see

all I could; but it would have made a Heart of Flint bleed, to see and hear the bitter Groans of those that were just expiring.

When I had seen all I could, I chanced to espy, at a great Distance, a Horse amongst the standing Corn. With that I made up to it, and took my Garters off, as he appeared to be a Horse worth eight or ten Pistoles. But when I came to examine him, he was not worth one, for he was shot in the Thigh; and I did not think myself Farrier sufficient, or good enough, to cure him. Therefore I left him, that he might pass the Examination of others that might have more Skill than me. In the Evening I found there were Detachments of our Army, in Number Thirty Thousand Men, allotted, in order to attack the *French* Lines, under the Command of the Duke of *Argyll*. We marched all Night. Our Generals behaved with a great deal of Conduct in that Expedition; for they sent the Artillery before, and all their Appurtenances fitting for our Use, that they might be ready at our Appearance. I was one of the first upon Command, and in the Front. We slung our Firelocks, and every Man had a Shovel in his Hand; and when we came to the Place appointed, we ran up upon their Works. It was like running up the Side of a House. When we got to the Top, we began to throw it down as fast as we could, in order to make Way for the Army. Here I could not help pleasing myself to see how the *French* ran from their Watchhouses, in such

great Haste, as if they endeavoured to make their Escape, lest any thing should befall them; for had they staid, there was great Likelihood they would have had their Heads broke. Then I said to our Men, *Look yonder, we have surpris'd them, and they are struck with a panick Fear already; therefore let us make Way that we may follow them.* I must needs say, we were not long before we had made the Ground fitting for our Army to march on: So we made ourselves Master of the Line without any Opposition at all.

When we had accomplished our Intent, we were all very well satisfied, and thought Rest would be very agreeable after our long Fatigue. Therefore we consented to lye down on our Arms. After we had refreshed ourselves with moderate Sleep, my Comrade began to be very hungry; at least he made great Complaints, and said, he was determin'd to go and see what that Part of the World would afford him. With that he went by himself; but I having a great Value for the Man, and afraid lest any Accident should happen to him, went after him, but could not find him for a considerable Time, though I made as strict an Inquisition as I could, but received no Tidings of him; therefore I was vexed in my own Mind, that I did not go along with him. At last I accidentally met with him by turning to the right, and I could discern he was driving something before him, but could not distinguish what it was, till I came near him. Then I found he had got a

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large Lamb, but he had tied his Garters together, and likewise tied them to his Leg. I told him, I thought it was a very uncommon Way of driving a Sheep or Lamb; therefore said, Come let me learn you a better Method than this; for this is like driving a Pig; but a Lamb requires to be carried. With that I tied his Legs together, and threw him over my Shoulders. But as the Man's Name was *James Lamb*, I purposed a great deal of Mirth when we came to the Company, though I did not acquaint him of my Intentions, but kept my Intentions as close as I could, till we came there. Then I observed in this Manner, and said, *Gentlemen, this Day something extraordinary has happened to us, it will be the World's Wonder.* They could not imagine what I meant, but the second Intimation gave them a true Idea of it, which was in this Manner. *Gentlemen, there never was more Likelihood of Plenty, than when one Lamb produces another; we certainly shall have a great Produce in Time, if we digest this agreeably.* Upon these Words, the Lamb was taken to the Slaughterer's, and my Comrade had scarce Patience for it to be cold, after it was killed. Wherefore I thought it would suffice his Appetite, by giving him the Fry to eat; though he was under some Apprehensions that I intended to give the biggest Part of it away. I was sensible that would not be altogether agreeable to him, as he was of a covetous Disposition, quite contrary to my Nature. Therefore I kept him in Suspence, and would not sat-

tisfy him of the full Intention of my Heart, nor no one that was guilty of such Voracity. I found by Experience, that the chief Produce of Greediness and Gluttony was Indolence; therefore I would never encourage any one that Way inclined. On the Morrow, I took half the Lamb and roasted it; and invited whom I thought fit; and we made a very plentiful Meal. Likewise after it we were excessively merry in drinking Success to the Lamb, hoping that it might produce one every Week. The *Lamb* was struck dumb, and would not speak one Word for a considerable Time. Therefore it appeared to me as if we should not be any the better for the next: But I was glad to see that he had such Conduct in him, not to be guilty of Infamy, nor any thing that was base: And I extolled him for his Affability. Then he became one of us, and was as jocular as the best of us. So his Countenance was soon changed from an ill natured Look to every Thing that was pleasant and agreeable. So I think he deserved to be commended, and every one, that doth not carry Resentment to such an Extremity, as to harbour Malice, or any Malignity whatsoever. The Method I took, was to acknowledge their Virtues, and encourage them to persevere in Good. So ever after, instead of giving Way to the beforementioned Sullenness, he would often be making some Kind of Jest about the Lamb; therefore he went by the Name, *James Lamb has lost the Lamb*. It was given him by his own Approbation. Thus

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there was nothing but Mirth, and some Feat of Activity or other, during the Time of our Continuance at that Ground; especially at our leisure Moments, when Time would permit.

When we left that Ground, we marched to a beautiful Plain, where we adorned our Camp with Boughs and Flowers, that made it as pleasant as a Nobleman's Garden in *England*. We did it very dexterously, in such a Manner, that it skreened us from the Heat of the Sun. And I very well remember, it was excessively hot at that Time. But we were well fortified against it; for you could scarce perceive any such Thing as a Tent, for Crowns and Garlands, which were made in a magnificent Manner. After we had taken such Pains, thinking to have a long Continuance to enjoy the Fruits of our Labour, and that pleasant Situation; I must needs confess, we had not the Opportunity of embracing the like, during the whole Campaign. This made us the more desirous of staying. Though when our Commander says the Word, it must be obeyed without Control, yet it was my Happiness to have no craving Desire after any thing; I was ready to relinquish every Enjoyment, and comply with their Will and Pleasure. Though I was determined that nothing should obstruct me from my Duty and Loyalty, yet at the same Time, I reckoned it a peculiar Advantage, to meet with no tempting Pleasure to shake this my Resolution, or prevent me from vigorously exerting myself, as long as I had Breath, by endeavouring

ing to maintain a just Cause : And the Reader will find, that I steadily pursued this Point, so long as there was any Employment for me ; while Thousands could not bear the Hardship, but the first Opportunity they had, would endeavour to shelter themselves, and be backward of their Duty, and would fly from Truth, for the Sake of Opposition, even for the least Glimpse of Encouragement. I call these Rebels in Nature, and not worthy of the Blessings the Almighty has vouchsafed to this World.

Though I acknowledge our marching was very expeditious, and a great Fatigue to some Men, yet I think those that won't endeavour their own Preservation, and that of their Country, deserve to be buried alive. For my own Part, I never saw any of our Infantry, that could outdo me in marching ; and when in Health, I always thought myself indefatigable, till *Swiney's Day in March*, and then, I must needs own, I began to be Leg-weary. But there was Cause enough to complain. I remember the greatest Part of the *Welch Fusileers* marched without Shoes. The excessive Rain, that accompanied us that Day, had put all the Infantry into so great Disorder, that it rendered them unfit for marching for a considerable Time after. It had no less Effect upon the Cavalry ; for many were obliged to dismount, and lead their Horses in their Hands. Then I began to think our Station was preferable to theirs ; though our Regiment had Orders to march a League beyond the rest of the Army, in order

to cover the General's Quarters. After we had received these Orders, there were not above a Hundred Men to bring up the Colours of our Regiment, and Necessity obliged me to mount the Quarter Guard. Likewise Duty was required of me as soon as I came in. But you must needs think it was very uncomfortable, after I had borne the Severity of the Weather, to stand with not so much as one dry Thread upon my Back, and wet Garments that struck excessively cold. But I nourished the inward Man by drinking Brandy, and thus prevented the ill Effects that might have proceeded from that Unpleasantness. I don't think the Day will ever be forgot amongst old Soldiers; At least they may allow me to quicken their Memory, by acquainting them that General *Ingoldfby* led us that Day; and we set it aside, as a very remarkable one.

In this Place we staid till such Time as both Man and Horse had recovered the Fatigue of our expeditious March; or at least, our commanding Generals thought that Houses would be much more agreeable than Huts or Tents, either for Man or Beast: Therefore when we left that Ground, our Generals began to think of the Garisons; and we marched to a Place within a League of *Courtray*, where we halted some Time; though in daily Expectation of marching nearer Garison; therefore it prevented us making the Preparation we should, had we imagined our Time would have been longer. But in this Respect we acted prudently;

ly; for our Continuance was but a very few Days, and from thence our Troops were drawn towards *Ulcey*, where we halted; and it being excessive cold, we made ourselves little Huts to skreen us from the Severity of the Weather; though it was not long before the Army began to disperse themselves. I found by their separating, it was done in order to go into *Garison*. Any one may think it would be most agreeable at that Time of Year, it was about *All Saints*, before our Officers went to *Ghent*, in order to draw for Quarters. We were about five Leagues from *Ghent*, and it was not long before we received good News; that was, that our Quarters were to be in the *Spanish* Castle. This gave us a great deal of Pleasure, knowing the Quarters differed much.

When we came there, finding that the Barrack I was to be in had four Beds, we managed with a great deal of Conduct and Discretion, and took it by Turns to officiate as Manciple; so that we had as much Affluence as reasonable Men could desire; and we lived as regular as People in their Families do in *England*: And we thought it a great Happiness, that we enjoyed such Plenty, after so great a Fatigue.

As I was settled in *Garison*, give me Leave to express my Gratitude for the Faithfulness of all the Commanders in general that Campaign: This is the true Sentiment of my Heart, which I am sensible no one is able in Justice to dispute: And every Man's Deeds should shine according to his Deserts. Therefore I will give you my
Opinion

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Opinion as well as my Capacity will allow. I think in my Heart, that the Duke of *Marlborough* ordered his Matters so well as to disappoint the *French* of all their intended Encampments; but it must be done by all their artful Inventions; which is a curious Scene to look over; though it was the Occasion of long Marches: But the Willingness of our Men, and their Activity withal to guide their Actions, accomplished our full Intent. Now I imagine they did it in a View to aggravate them, that we might come to an Action. The *French* made a Show before we came to *Swiney's* Camp, as if they had aimed to shew us their Performance; but we found they were intimidated, and afraid to attack us, so soon after *Oudenard*. Therefore I said to our Men, they had not digested it well. Though I could not help pleasing myself, to see all our Officers Attentiveness in making ready, till the *French* thought proper to make off again. I spoke to an Officer, one *Cope*, a Gentleman, whose half Pike I had often used to carry, and a Countryman of mine, as he called himself, (I have a great Notion it is he that is now a General) and said, Sir, *they are sensible we are in a Capacity to fight better than we were at the last Action; therefore I don't think they will encounter with us any more this Campaign.* He made but little Answer to what I said, but was seemingly in great Haste, as if he was upon Business of great Importance. I found by that, that all the Officers in general had more Thought about it than

than I; for I was under no Concern in Life. Then I heard somebody say, that the Duke was determined to see what they would do; therefore we pursued them, and deprived them of *Swiney's* Camp. But the World could not produce Men of such profound Knowledge and Experience, even Men of all Degrees; for there were so good Orders given, that it was not in the Power of any one to find Fault; therefore every Thing went on pleasantly and agreeably, and no Men were more active in obeying their Generals Commands than we: There was never any Confusion amongst us, but we understood one another from the highest to the lowest Degree. Now I think those that are endued with these Virtues and good Qualities, may not in the least doubt of getting the Victory; for such Men will fight like Heroes; no Confusion attends their Proceedings; and where there is, Men will falter, and fall from their vigorous Nature, and do not deserve the Epithet of *Manly*. When they are not what I have expressed, there is no Likelihood of getting the Victory; for they have not Power to exert themselves when required. I must indeed confess it is not the Men's Fault altogether, but owing to the Misunderstanding between those in a superior Rank, which is often the Destruction of Thousands. O Man, where is thy Humanity, when guilty of such Cruelty? thou certainly must answer for these great Faults, where human Creatures are concerned!

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As I have disclosed to the World the true Sentiments of my Heart concerning that Campaign, therefore I hope the World won't vary much in their Opinions; for it is my Nature to give to every Man his just Due; and had they not been deserving, I should have been as apt to have breathed forth my Aspersions as soon as any one. But there are undeniable Proofs of their Behaviour; which delight my Soul, when I think, and look over all their Transactions: And it creates in me a strong Veneration for that Calling. Likewise it leads me to imagine, I might be of great Service at these Years, might I be received into their Flock again. Now I have demonstrated and given you the invincible Proofs of all I have said, therefore I will proceed forward, and acquaint the World, of what I know of the next following Year; which shall be all Facts, and nothing but what my Eyes have seen.

C H A P. XXII.

The Author's Letter to his Wife in 1708: Embarks for England: Meets with a violent Storm: Reflection on the Principle of true Courage: Returns to Ghent: Takes the Field. Advice to Officers not to defraud private Men of what is their Due.

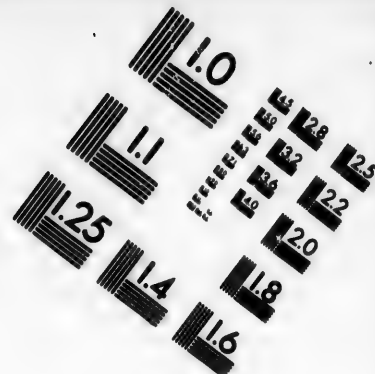
AS I had a Wife in *England*, I thought it would be prudent, to send her the following Letter, to satisfy her that I was alive and well. ' My Dear, you can't conceive, the
' Pleasure

' Pleasure I have enjoyed the last Campaign.
 ' Neither can I find Terms to express my De-
 ' light, any otherways than the Almighty has
 ' planted a Tree, never to be hewn nor cut
 ' down by Men, for his infinite Power is over
 ' all Things. He will skreen whom he pleaseth
 ' under the Shadow of his Wings, till his Divine
 ' and most serene Power thinketh fit to make
 ' a Change; therefore I will venture to say,
 ' that his providential Power has been over the
 ' Tree, that I have represented, or else it would
 ' not have been at all, no Life to shoot forth
 ' his Branches, but would dwindle away and
 ' at last fall, as a stumbling Block for others.
 ' Therefore I beg that you and my Mother
 ' may not be any ways discomforted at my Ab-
 ' sence, since the Key of all Beings is my Sup-
 ' porter, and in whom I take Delight. Neither
 ' be dismay'd but take it as genuine as I wrote
 ' it, and it will give me a twofold Pleasure,
 ' when I hear that you are not any ways dis-
 ' order'd. For my part I wish all the World
 ' was half so happy as myself, therefore I hope
 ' you will not grudge me what I have con-
 ' cealed in my own Breast, or what his infinite
 ' Power has bestowed upon me. Methinks
 ' I am blessed above all Mankind for every
 ' Thing is restored to me, that in Reason I
 ' can wish for, and I hope you may be en-
 ' dowed with the same Gift, and that in Duty
 ' bound I shall ever pray for. So I conclude
 ' yours, to whom I will join my Mother for ever.

Matthew Bishop.

I shall





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I shall make one Observation, and then shall proceed to my Story. It was a common Saying amongst Soldiers, when the Officers were ordered a recruiting; *they are going in order to bring over those that were killed the last Campaign.* I think this doth not require to be interpreted to the Reader, for the Sense of it is obvious enough, and easy to be comprehended. And it created Mirth and Diverſion, which is the only thing a Soldier has to keep up his Spirits.

Soon after our Officers were gone a recruiting, we heard that there was a Demand from the Queen, for ten Regiments out of *Flanders*, in order to preſerve her Royal Perſon in her own Dominions, when the diametrical oppoſite Party, and the pretended Prince of *Wales* attempted to invade *Great Britain*. Their Attempt failed, neither will it ever have it's deſired Effect, till God gives up all his Power to the Devil, and till then we are environed round with ſtrong Walls that nothing will penetrate. At that time you will find, we were ordered to prevent any Corruption that might befall us through Negligence or dilatory Means. In *February* we left *Ghent* under the Command of Brigadier *Sabine*, and went on Board the *Bylanders* and with all Expedition for *Bruges*. When we arrived there, we had Orders to continue till a Regiment, that was appointed to go with us, came up; which was two Days after. Then there were Orders iſſued out for us to go to *Oſtend*, where we all embarked on Board ſeveral Ships.

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The Company that I belonged to, went into the *Mary Galley*, and put out to Sea. But we had no sooner got into the Ocean, but we were put to our Shifts, and with great Difficulty escaped going to the Bottom. You'll find as soon as we appeared in the Main, we all fell into Confusion, by a violent Storm, or properly a Hurricane. We expected every Moment to be swallowed up, but still Providence protected me, and I was very active at that Juncture of Time. I finding the Vessel was over laded went to the Captain for his Approbation, and said, *Sir, I beg you will give ear, to what I am going to intimate to you; I shall be glad to know your Disposition, and whether you are willing to dispose of those Punchions of Beer, that are lashed upon Deck: If not, the Consequence will be that you certainly will dispose of all these living Souls, to the Influence of the Waves; for instead of three Companies you should have had but two, therefore I beg you will consult within yourself. I should not have taken the Liberty of speaking, had I not been very well acquainted with the Seas. The Captain was so confused that he could scarce give me an Answer, but said, as we are all alone, we can call no Court martial, therefore I think the best Thing we can do, is to stave the Punchions, and try what Effect that will have.* Upon this, we all went to Work, and lightened our Vessel presently. By this Means, we were rendered capable of enduring the Weather better than we could have expected, I said when I found the Virtue of it; *it was equal*

The

equal to a hundred Men, and I will venture to say had we not taken that Method, we should all have been lost, and therefore I valued myself on being the chief Instrument of saving Hundreds. As good Fortune would have it, the Vessel was a fine Sailer, and although we tack'd about very often, yet I could perceive we gained Ground prodigious fast; for it was not long before we arrived at the Place appointed, *Sheels* in the North of England. In going over the Bar there, we struck or rather grazed her. With that the Captain cried out, *O my Ship*, and we all imagined her Back had been broke; but as good Luck would have it, the Ship received little or no Damage, though I must needs confess every Man was intimidated at that sudden Motion; and when they were made sensible she was not harmed, they fell all into Raptures and such Transports of Joy, that any one would have been surpris'd to have seen their Extasy.

Nothing shews a Man's Capacity more than when in Distress or in Danger; and I remember the time that I have been in great Danger aboard of Ship, and at the same time some Men were insensible of it. I will leave the World to attribute this Insensibility to what they please; and will proceed in my Relation.

When we arriv'd safe in the Harbour, I found the Vessel was well known by the Colliers; therefore I asked some Questions, and they inform'd me she had taken several of them. We continued in the Vessel two Days, before there
was

was a large Cat pressed; and it went by the Name of the *Raylstone*. Then we received Orders to go on Board of her, likewise seven Companies more belonging to seven different Regiments. That was our Station for seven Weeks successively. I will leave the World to judge, whether our Situation was agreeable or not, as our Lodgings were very indifferent. Therefore when it was time to go to Rest, I was the Occasion of a great deal of Mirth by these Words, *Gentlemen, I beg you will all agree to my Proposal; that is, to draw out your Bayonets, and let me see whether you can distinguish the softest Plank.* That diverted all our Company, and we were as happy as if it had been a Bed of Down, as the Reader will find. But I think proper to explain the Method we took to rest all the time of our Continuance there.

It was in Camp Fashion. After we undressed ourselves, we put both Legs in our Waistcoat Sleeves, laid the Napfacks down for our Pillow, the Breeches under our Shoulders, and the Coats over us, which made a complete Rug, or at least what we were very well contented with without grumbling. I have since reflected within myself, that Patience and Content are the Beauties of the Mind, and that a hearty Zeal for a good Cause stifles the Sense of Hardship. So that it is evident, nothing can fatigue Men of this Temper. Their Yoke becomes easy and their Burthens light, by their inward Content, which is at all times a sure Support under the greatest Calamities. And who will be so

mad as not to cultivate and cherish what will assist them, in every Thing that human Creature is capable of undertaking. Besides it strengthens their Faith, and carries up their Thoughts to that all powerful Being, on whom their Dependence lyes. For my Part, I will say once more, that Victory doth not altogether depend upon Numbers; but on inward Strength darted into the Breast by the King of Heaven. This alone forms the true Hero.

Give me leave to explain my own Nature and Disposition. When I faced my Enemies, instead of being intimidated as most Men are, at the first Appearance, I was always animated, knowing that the Victory would be given to them, who relied upon, and had their Dependence in God's Goodness, who chuseth him to be their chief Commander. It created Pleasure and gave me Comfort, to think that the adverse Party could have no Power over us, without the Assistance of Divine Providence. Thus I certainly concluded, that all Victories would be given to the just Side, and to relieve Oppression. Now those, that dispute these my Sentiments, will certainly fall by the Sword of Steel, when they face their Enemies or have any Controversy against them; but those, that come into my Measures and Opinion, will never receive Wounds or Scars, but run through all Difficulties in Defiance of the adverse Party, as I did through the Scene which I have set forth, to be a Pattern for the Commonalty of Mankind, or those who profess what I delighted in.

After we had diverted ourselves for seven Weeks at *Shields*, it was thought proper, to return to our former Quarters, *Ghent*. I thought that very agreeable News, for I longed to be in Action, and there was no Likelihood of having any thing to do in *England*, to keep us from Idleness. This was the Occasion of my being so desirous of changing our Situation. As the diabolical Powers were prevented of that Diadem they were in quest of, I thought there was but little occasion for our Continuance there. When we received our Orders, we steered our Course for *Ostend*, and when we had so done, we went with all Expedition for *Ghent*, where we continued three Days. In the mean time, all Preparations imaginable were made for our Campaign.

When we left *Ghent*, we marched to a Camp that was between *Brussels* and *Louvain*. At the same time, his most excellent Majesty King *George* shewed his paternal Love for this Kingdom, and gave the strongest Proofs of it; for he exposed his most Sacred Person for the Preservation of his loyal Subjects. I remember well when he reviewed us at the above Camp, where were the Duke of *Marlborough*, Prince *Eugene* and the other confederate Generals, we gained great Applause. At that Juncture of Time, while we were under Arms, something happened, which I think proper to lay before the World, to caution an Officer not to give a Soldier cause to censure him at any time. There was a general Complaint amongst our Men;

and they took this Opportunity to divulge their Grievances, thinking in some Measure they might be righted. They imagined that Brigadier *Sabine* intended to defraud them of their Pay, during the time of their Continuance on Shipboard. Now I must needs say, had this really been his Intention, it would have been doing a very unjust Thing. Besides it might very possibly have been very hurtful to himself, through the Instigation of some invidious People. But the manner in which the Scene was opened prevented his Destruction, though he was in a violent Rage. General *Webb* stood at the Front of our Regiment, and as good Fortune would have it, the Brigadier came up to him, and had a long Conference with him. At that Juncture, one of our Men took Courage and said, *have you brought us the Sea Pay?* With that he fell into a Rage, and told the General that he could never pass by his Regiment without hearing their Clamour, which was insupportable. Hereupon the General desired to know what had been said. He made answer, *they are continually dunning me for the Sea Pay, which ought not to be.* The General said, *Sir, you give great Attention to what the Men say, for I could not distinguish what they said.* Our brave General *Webb* could make himself agreeable to all Mankind, and he gave us the strongest Proofs of it at that Juncture, that ever Man did. For he not only pleased the Brigadier, but at the same time countenanced us, by turning his Head towards us with a Smile. Then he called

ed the Adjutant, and desired he would go round to every Man, and offer them two Pistoles to inform who it was that mentioned the Sea Pay. But this was a mere Pretence, as you will find: For he went to the Left of the Regiment, rode through all the Ranks, and offered the Money with a Smile, and at the same time privately said, *don't impeach one another*. When he had rode through the whole, he returned to the General and Brigadier, and said, *if it please your Honours, none will own it, neither will the Money tempt any of them to impeach each other*. Then our noble General made answer and said, *it shews they love one another, and are all of one Way of thinking, which is a beautiful thing in a Soldier*. Therefore, Sir, as we have made this strict Inquisition amongst them, and you and I have found out their Dispositions, I beg you may take care that they be paid; for that Money will be very acceptable this Campaign. The Brigadier said but little, before he walked off. Though I found by virtue of the General's Word speaking, we were paid our Dividend, in a short time after, which was while we continued at that Ground. I remember well, while I was upon a foraging Command of 40 Men, 8 Hours, at my return, which was late at Night, I heard the agreeable News by the Sentinel, that the whole Regiment was paid. Upon hearing that, I said to my Companions, *come, since it is so I am determin'd to call up a Sutler and make myself merry before I go to Rest*. So it was agreed, and we drank two Felmates each Man, of

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extremely good *Brussels Beer*, and went to our Tents and received a sound Sleep. In the Morning we all received our Dividends. For my part I was prodigiously well pleased for the Sake of the poor Men that wanted it, not that I valued it myself any more than a Snuff of a Candle,

C H A P. XXIII.

March from Ghent towards Lisle: Artois fortified: Stratagem of Prince Eugene's: The Siege of Lisle: The Defeat of 24000 French at Windendale by General Webb: Ghent retaken from the French.

IT was not long after, before Orders were issued out to hold ourselves in Readiness to march at the firing of three Cannon, for the *French* were in Motion. They thought it would be doing themselves a great piece of Service to march for *Ghent*, and hold us in Play amongst our own Garisons. But it availed them little. Nay if all the *French* Politicians had agreed and put all their Heads together, they could in no wise have frustrated the brave Duke of *Marlborough's* Designs. In the End they were not insensible of this, for he disappointed them of all their Inventions, and herein shewed his Dexterity and profound Knowledge. Likewise his most sublime Goodness was celebrated throughout the whole Army. And where the Supporters are good, it is impossible the Edifice should

should tumble. Nay all Praise and Honour was due to him, for his daily shewing his paternal Love to all his Soldiers by making every thing easy and agreeable to them.

Knowing that the *French* durst not look him in the Face, he did not think proper to follow them to *Ghent*, but intended to deprive them of their Winter Quarters at the closing of the Campaign. Wherefore he marched towards *Lisle*, in order to see what Reception we should meet with there. On our way thither I went upon a great Command, which was to reinforce *Artois*, and when we came there, we were very dexterous in fortifying it; for we rendered it capable of withstanding a whole Army. And in truth it needed our Help, for I got upon the Ramparts, and could view the *French* Army and ours, but a short Distance from each other. Then on a sudden I could discern a Body of the *French* Horse come so very near ours, that we did imagine there would be some Action performed by them. But they all were intimidated, three only excepted, who darted forth from the rest hoping they would follow. But they were struck with a Panick. Then some of our Men went after these three and obliged them to surrender. It occasioned a great deal of Mirth, to see how they galloped from one part to another; but they were surrounded and brought in as cool as Lambs. Then they were taken before the Governor.

It was not long after that, before we marched to the Army. Before we could reach *Lisse*,

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there were Orders issued out, for four Regiments to go under the Command of Prince *Eugene*, in order to conduct the large Cannon and all the Artillery, fitting to carry on the Siege, the Duke of *Argyll's*, my Lord *Hartford's*, my Lord *North* and *Gray's* and General *Webb's*, being the first Regiments upon Command; that prevented our being at the opening of the Siege. We were greatly out of our Bias with the Artillery, but we secured it, with all the care imaginable, by keeping a Boviack, for we were under great Apprehensions of Danger, and I believe some of the Great Ones began to despair of our safe Arrival. I must needs say, it was a long and slow March: But I will make bold to explain the Method the Prince took, which every Body will say was a good Stratagem. When the General beat, we halted, and when the Tattoo beat we marched. By that Means we conducted it along, and were at our Arrival received with great Joy.

But for my part I grew very impatient, thinking we should never have the Honour of seeing *Lisse*. The Reason of my being so desirous of seeing that large important Place, was that I hoped to be employed in such a Manner, that I might exert myself in doing some noble Exploit for the Honour and Praise of us all. So far my Ambition led; that was the fundamental Cause of my coming into the Army, and I put myself in a Sphere as I thought, that I could be of most Service in carrying on the War with Vigour. Though I say it, I had a great
Influence

Influence over Thousands by Encouragements, and I may venture to say, that though of so mean a Capacity, I inspired so much Courage into those whom I conversed with, that nothing would have daunted them at that Time. Now what Influence must those of profound Knowledge and Experience have, if they would give themselves Time and Delight in what I did? I am certain it would render them capable of performing more than a Man can devise; but at these Days the Love of Money was all they sought after, and they thought it beneath them to countenance their Inferiors. But that was not my Nature, for I spent an Estate to get the Good-will of all I conversed with, and I in no wise repent, as it was in a just Cause. Though now it would comfort me in my old Age, yet I am like an old Coachman that loves the smack of the Whip, and I fancy I might be of Service at this Juncture, might I be admitted into the Scene: I still have some Idea of it.

Prince *Eugene* being the chief commanding General at *Lisle*, there was nothing wanting as far as his Dexterity went, and the World must say he was an artful cunning Man. The Siege was carry'd on with a great deal of Conduct: Though one would imagine that it was almost impracticable to take such a strong fortified Place. After the Trenches were opened and the Engineers had taken the right Method, we made the Sun shine through some of the Walls. But our Regiment was cannonaded with great Violence, and the Dust made to fly about our Ears prodigiously.

The besieged would take every Opportunity they could, and I remember one time in particular, as I was going to the Waggon in order to fetch some Bread, the Cannon Balls came singing by my Ears, took my Hat off and blowed it twenty Yards from me. Such Clouds of Dust and Gravel flew about that they almost blinded some of our Men. For my own part, I thought it almost impossible to fire off so many Cannon Balls, in so short a Space of Time. Yet they did but little Damage, which was owing to Providence, and I had used to say to the Men, *trust to Providence and never fear.*

Then General *Webb* took two Regiments that covered some Quarters which lay convenient for a quick Motion, and no one more dextrous than himself; he took the above mentioned Regiments, Lord *Hartford's* and Sir *Richard Temple's* and marched them along in order to beat the *French* out of a Shattow. But as they were going along the *French* endeavoured to intercept their March: For they lay in double Ditches and pouring forth their Shot upon them, killed and wounded a great many. But nothing prevented their marching to the Shattow, which they made themselves Master of, and brought off a great many Prisoners. I remember well at that Juncture of Time I was upon Major *Congreve's* Guard, who was Major of a Brigade that lay very near those Regiments, and I remember at that time *Webb* very narrowly escaped having the *French* Army upon him, for they lay in Ambuscade on purpose to surprize him. Wherefore

fore he was obliged to quit his Quarters in great Haste for they are a People that love to take Advantage. But the Duke of *Marlborough* holding himself in readiness to receive them they dared not attempt to face that great General, but thought proper to draw off again. I was prodigious sorry for one Sergeant *Redley*, who belonged to my Lord *Hartford's* Regiment, a particular Acquaintance of mine, and a Man that I had a great Regard for. He came in greatly wounded, and every one imagined his Wounds were mortal. I was much concerned for him. But I began to think it was in vain to condole for another's Misfortunes at that Juncture, when the whole Army was exposed in one Shape or other, myself not excepted; yet I had the good Fortune to escape sharing the same Fate, which Thousands underwent.

There were Detachments out of several Regiments, to go in order to take some Out-Works or properly Sconces or little Fortresses that commanded the City. But there was a strong Citadel to command that large important Place besides them, and as we were in Action endeavouring to make ourselves Master of them, they sprung several Mines and blew up a great Number of our Men. I had some Idea of the thing, or whether it was only an Imagination or not I cannot tell, but I thought I could perceive the Ground tremble under me. Whereupon I said to all that would hear me, *Gentlemen, fall down with your Faces to the Earth*, I myself did so, like one dead. The Word was but just out of my Mouth,

Mouth, before it made the Earth tremble, and all that were upon it, or near that Place, were blown up, and some torn asunder, so that they run through a dismal Operation. It had more Effect than it otherwise would have had, had they taken my Method. But most of our Company did, and preserved their Lives; though some of their Coats and Hair were burnt, when at the same time several Sergeants and private Men, that were farther off, that would not follow this Rule, were blown into the Air. Wherefore I said to them that followed my Advice, *through Obstinacy they sought their own Destruction.* They made me answer, *they were thoroughly convinced it was so.* Yet I would not have the World think a Man can always arm himself against such a Thing, for Imaginations are not always right, though it happened so at that Juncture of Time, which I impute to the Providence of God, whose Goodness is very extensive. I can say so by Experience, therefore I will own it with a sincere Acknowledgment.

After we had been there about a Month, our Ammunition was almost expended, though the Duke of *Marlborough* had sent us a Supply of what he could spare. For he knew that the whole Dependance of our carrying on the Siege, was on the great Convoy that we were expecting. The *French* were not insensible of our Wants, and sent a Detachment of Twenty-four Thousand Men from their Army, with an Intent to intercept it: Though Providence directed it to the contrary, as the Reader will find.

find. Our noble Duke had a distinguishing Capacity, I must needs own, superior to the rest of Mankind. I have often said, he could see into the Minds of Men; for he judiciously observed their Natures; which made every Thing go pleasant and agreeable, without the least Confusion in Life. I can say so with Justice; for when the Duke of *Marlborough* had given General *Webb* the Command of 7000 Foot, and 150 Horse, in order to defend themselves against 24000 *French*; though they were so superior in Number, he was not in the least discouraged, but relied on the Bravery and Conduct of General *Webb*. And in Truth, the latter, I am sensible, thought himself happy in that Command. I could perceive it by his Countenance, and by his pleasant Behaviour to all his Men in general. He was an old experienced General, and a Man that knew every Part of the Country, without which he could not have known how to dispose of his Men. And this plainly appears from his beautiful Disposition of his Troops. He marched to a Place called *Winendale Heath*, and there drew all his Men into a Wood, and made them as secure as he could, in order to be in a Capacity to receive the *French*, or to shew them our Arm of Defence. All our Men were in high Spirits, and eager to exert themselves at their first Appearance; but our General desired they would have Patience till such Time as all might be in Action together. Our advantageous Ground was the Destruction of a great many Thousands of

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of the *French*, for we had them all Ways, Front, and Rear, and Flank; and it continued in that manner for a considerable Time, till they retreated in great Confusion. But the Reason of their being so intimidated, was the Ingenuity of brave General *Webb*, whose Behaviour the World is not insensible of. For he ordered his Drums and Trumpets in such a Manner in the Time of Action, that they imagined our whole Army was coming upon them. I verily believe, that was the chief Reason of their Retreat. He had likewise disposed of his Men in such Manner, that they could have a full View of the *French*, though the *French* could hardly perceive them. For when we gave them a Volley they were confused, and scarce knew where it came from. Even their Officers were seemingly in great Consternation; for their faint Commands could not prevail upon the Men to face the Wood: And their Astonishment was so great, that no one could persuade them but those Shouts came from the Elements. I must needs own, comparatively speaking, that it had the Resemblance of a Thunder-Clap, more than of any other Thing in the World besides. But it is wrong in any Man to suffer Imagination to get the better of his Courage. Most of our Men were prodigiously sorry that they retreated in such Haste: I verily believe, had they continued upon the Ground a little longer, we should have brought their superior Number to have been inferior to ours; and at the least, it would have rendered us capable of following them.

them. But we were so few, and they retreating before we had greatly reduced their Numbers, it was in vain to pursue them. Our brave General could distinguish, as we were in an advantageous Situation, and able to withstand all their Resistance, had we followed them, it was very possible they might have had the Advantage of us, and prevented our accomplishing our Design. Wherefore we continued in that Situation till they had entirely left us to conduct the Convoy by ourselves.

By this Action our General gained great Applause; and it animated the whole Army to such a Degree, that it rendered them capable of carrying on the Siege with Vigour. Though at one Time I remember, some of our Generals began to despair of our bringing the Convoy safe: Upon which there were Orders issued out, and Preparations made for raising the Siege. But our brave General shewed them an Instance of his Conduct, and brought them out of all Doubts and Despair; the *French* were as much dispirited as we were enlivened, and could not digest those large Cannon Balls that we threw amongst them, but were obliged to surrender.

Thus every Thing had it's desired Effect; and as there was no Occasion for our Continuance, we left that Ground, and marched to *Windenale Heath* again, and pitched our Tents. After we had so done, I went along with several, in order to shew them where we performed the Action. Then we returned to our Tents again,
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but were excessively merry all the Time we continued at the said Camp, which was one Night. From thence we marched to *Ruffila's* Camp, and continued there some Time; but that Encampment was not so agreeable as we could have wished, by reason of Provision being so excessively dear, and prodigiously scarce; so that it was hard getting a Commodity for our Money. The Reason of that Scarcity was, the *French* had cut off our Communication: Some were near *Oudenard*, and some at *Bruges*, and others at *Ghent*; and by that Method they prevented all our Intercourse with *Holland*, and other Parts, from whence we could get Provision. Therefore we were obliged to make four Days Bread serve us six. In the Interim, we went a marauding by Brigades; we did that by Way of preventing any Obstruction that often happens to a small Body of Men. We were not obstructed in the least, nay, met with some kind Reception; for the People were more willing to give than we were to take. I remember they gave us Beef and Bacon sufficient to suffice us for two or three Days. Thus we made Shift for Subsistence; though it was more than we could expect at that Juncture of Time. Another Time I went by myself, and found a Cock and six large Fowls, and three Ropes of Onions. I thought myself very successful in getting those good Things. Then I thought it would be prudent in me to dispose of some of them, lest they should grow stale upon my Hands. Wherefore I sold four of the best for a Patatoon, and the Onions

Onions I sold for three Skillings, and the other three I took to my Tent, and kept them for my own eating, they being a Kind of a Rarity. But when I came to eat them, I could not vouchsafe to eat them alone, but invited whom I thought proper to eat with me. I had three plentiful Meals, and some good Liquors to wash it down; and this was the Method I took, and in no wise despaired of a sufficient Supply of Provision all the Time of our Continuance at that Ground. But there were several that were almost starving. I asked them the Reason, *Why they did not endeavour to get a sufficient Subsistence?* They made Answer, *They would trust to Providence.* At that Reply, I thought it high Time to speak; therefore I said, 'Gentlemen, you'll find that Providence will bestow of his Provision to them that will endeavour to seek after it; but those that are indolent, and have no Thoughts of Industry, must not expect to reap any Benefit from it. It is not for a Man to look up, and call upon the Lord to help him, and at the same Time hide his Talent in the Ground; but it is the Man that speaks with a Fervency of Heart, and whose Actions correspond to his Words, who is blessed. For God did not make Man to be an useless Creature, but made him that he might labour under all Difficulties that might befall him in this World. Therefore great is your Folly if you don't act as I have observed.'" After this Conference I left them, and in the Morning I heard that they

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had asked to go and see what the Country would afford them. I was glad to hear what I said had so much Influence on them, and such an Effect, as to change their Minds in so short a Time. Within two or three Days they all came to me, and rendered me Thanks for my Advice. I was likewise glad to see that they were so grateful as to acknowledge my paternal Love towards them; it shewed a Reformation with Respect towards their Adviser; and after they were sensible of their Folly, they observed my Instructions, and by Virtue of that had a sufficient Supply all the Time of our Continuance at that Ground. Though I would not have the World think those Things are done without Care and Industry; if they do, they are greatly mistaken; for there requires great Attention to every Thing undertaken when in such Circumstances as we were in, and the Duke of *Marlborough's* Attention and Care was over us all. You'll find when we left that Ground, we marched to a Ground in their Country. From our expeditious March, I could perceive the Duke of *Marlborough's* Intention was to surprise the Enemy. For we had continued no longer than one Night at that Ground, and in the Evening following the general Orders were to march all Night without Beat of Drum. Accordingly we did, and, though I say it, I don't think it was possible for a Body of Men to pass over more Ground than we did, in so short a Time; but we were all in so high Spirits, that we could scarce feel the Ground

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Ground we walked upon. The Reason of our Ecstasy was, that we imagined we should be able to shew the *French* some more of our Performances: But we were disappointed. We were no ways apprised of meeting with any Obstruction in the least; yet when we came within half a Mile of the River, we were commanded to halt, till such Time as the Tin Boats were laid for our Columns to march over: But we did not attempt to pass till such Time as the Patrollers were past. When every Thing was completed fit for our marching over, there were Orders issued out, to hold ourselves in Readiness, and divide into six Columns, in order to march at the Signal of three Cannons.

I must needs say, I was prodigiously sorry to hear that News; for if I might have had my Way, the Cannon should have been fired after we had been over. But our noble Generals Generosity led them so far as not to be guilty of any mean Action. Yet if we had done as I observed, we might have taken them all as Prisoners of War. I imagined our Generals Thoughts were, that the Signal might bring them to an Action: And had they attempted that, they certainly would have had the Advantage of us; for it plainly appeared that Ten Thousand might have kept off Forty Thousand, as the opposite Side of the River appeared like the Ramparts of a fortified Place. But instead of their being animated, they were intimidated at the Opportunity we gave them to exert themselves: And I could not help pleasing myself

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with this Observation, they were sensible *their Landlord was coming to reckon with them*: Knowing they had not sufficient to pay, they retired in great Confusion, and left the Ground and some of their Utensils and Equipage, which did compensate a little for our Trouble of marching so far by Night. And had not we been fatigued with a long March, we might have pursued them; but our brave Generals were not immoderate in their Command, but could distinguish the Nature of their Men, and were unwilling to put any Thing to them, but what they could perform with Vigour: Therefore we were contented with outing them of that Camp. As the Day was far spent, it would have been in vain to pursue after fresh Men, therefore it was an Act of Prudence to continue in that Situation till we were refreshed.

While we were at that Ground, I had a great Desire to go and have a second View of the Ground on which we engaged the *French* the last Campaign; for being so near *Oudenard*, I was unwilling to miss that Opportunity. When I asked my Officer, he very readily granted my Request. I took along with me several of my Acquaintance that were not there, in order to shew them in what Manner we were engaged. It gave me a great deal of Satisfaction, by preventing my forming a wrong Idea of the Place, which I very possibly might have done, had I been debarred from this second Sight of it: But now it is so strongly impressed upon my Mind, that I never shall forget it. I returned to the

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Camp again, and took a View of the Enemy's Ingenuity in the Camp they run from; and I will venture to say once more, had not they been intimidated with the Thoughts *that their Master was coming to reckon with them*, they might have defended themselves against six times our Number; for their Works must have damped most of our Shot, being so much above us, and on the opposite Side of the River, which we were obliged to pass.

When we left that Ground, we made the best of our Way to *Ghent*, hearing that the *French* had taken Possession of it. On our Arrival there, we were shut out of our intended Quarters; wherefore all Preparation imaginable was made for firing at the Town. The Besieged knowing we had more Right to the Quarters than them, they resigned by beating a Parley. I remember well, our Regiment marched in at *St. Peter's Port*, and lay under Arms in the long Street that goeth to *St. Peter's Hill*, till such Time as all the *French* thought proper to surrender and relinquish the Place, and fly elsewhere for their Winter Quarters. I could not help pleasing myself with the Thoughts of making them bow to us in every particular Thing; and I always used to remind our Men by saying, *They always will submit to their Superiors*; though at the same Time we were inferior in Number. But in those Days our brave Generals endeavoured to surprize them, which is the chief Article in War. I am not opinionative, knowing that the World can distinguish better

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than I; and therefore will refer it to their Judgment, and proceed in my Story.

After we had made the *French* fly for Shelter, and obliged them to change their Quarters for our Accommodation, we marched up to the Castle of Arms, in order to lye that Night. It being *Christmas-Eve*, and cold Weather, we thought a Garison very agreeable, that we might reserve our Vigor till Spring, and be enabled to endure another such Campaign as the last, which lasted almost the whole Year round. I would not have the World think we spent those ten Months idly; for all were in Motion, and constantly employed, from the highest to the lowest.

As we had, after so glorious a Campaign, the good Fortune to get our intended Quarters, it added to my Joy, to think I had a Skreen to keep off the Severity of the Weather from me. I must needs own we had a prodigious sharp Winter, which generally denotes a backward Spring. After I had consulted with whom I thought proper, I made a Proposal which they all relished; that was, to spend our Time in Mirth, during our Continuance in Garison. They readily complied, and said, *With all their Hearts*. Then said I, *Gentlemen we have a good Mistress who pays us twice a Week, therefore by Agreement we will subscribe to a Club which I have appointed at the Corner-House of the Spanish Parade*. They said, *They would do any Thing to oblige me, but were afraid their Money would not admit of any such Thing*. I said,
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Never fear, I'll make up all Deficiencies. So it was agreed on, and when we met, our chief Conversation was in forming Conjectures about the Operations of the next Campaign; and by this we became great Politicians. And in Truth, some of them were Men of Genius, and very capable of treating Subjects of that Kind. This was our Method of proceeding, and by that Means we spent many Hours agreeably enough.

I will now make bold to trouble the Reader with a Line or two that I sent to my Wife before I went to Camp, then I will proceed forward to the rest of my Actions.

‘ My Dear, be so candid as to excuse my
 ‘ annual Letters, as my Thoughts hitherto have
 ‘ been taken up with Business of great Importance that required great Attention, and rendered me unfit to think of my private Affairs. But as we have accomplished all we
 ‘ undertook the last Campaign, I am in Hopes
 ‘ we shall not meet with any Obstruction the
 ‘ next ensuing; and I don’t doubt in the least
 ‘ but that our Desires will be fulfilled, if we
 ‘ trust to the Providence of God: For he is our
 ‘ Rock, our Shield, and strong Tower: For
 ‘ my part, I trust in him to aid and assist me,
 ‘ knowing that he is our only Support. So I
 ‘ conclude with Fervency of Heart to what is
 ‘ abovementioned; likewise give me Leave to
 ‘ subscribe myself yours for ever, not forgetting
 ‘ my Mother.’

C H A P. XXIV.

Begins the Campaign in 1709: Tournay taken by the Allies: Sir Richard Temple's Behaviour there: Battle of Malplaquet: The taking of Mons.

IN 1709, we marched out of *Ghent*, in order to go to Camp, where we lay cool and quiet for some Time; though our brave Generals were in Action in different Shapes, contriving what they thought would be most to our Advantage: And I must needs own they were in perpetual Motion. Then all Preparations were made for the whole Army to march and besiege *Tournay*. Our Men in general behaved with such Conduct and Vigor, that the Place was obliged to surrender. Most of the *French* retired in great Confusion into the Citadel, and left the Town to the Mercy of our Men. After the Duke of *Marlborough* had fully determined to take the Citadel, he sent from the grand Army, that lay to cover it, the Duke of *Argyll's* Regiment, my Lord *Hartford's*, my Lord *North* and *Grey's*, and the Queen's marching Regiment of Foot, commanded by General *Webb*, under the Command of Sir *Richard Temple*, to lay Siege to it. Sir *Richard* behaved with a great deal of Ingenuity, and by that Means enlivened us all, and rendered us capable to exert ourselves when required. I must needs own, there was Business sufficient

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ent to employ us all; for it was a prodigious strong Place, and well provided for us with a great Number of Mines.

I remember, after our Army had completed twelve Saps, we mounted the Trenches, and sat upon the Foot Banks, when of a sudden the Enemy sprung a Mine, which made the Earth tremble under us; but it ceased in a Moment. We were surpris'd it had not taken us up into the Clouds; for, comparatively speaking, it ascended like unto a Cloud. We were prodigious hard at Work in sapping the Enemy, who sapped under us, and sprung several Mines, which stifled great Numbers of our Men. Then those that were above would work with all their Might, in order to give them below Air. By that Means we did save some alive. But to prevent the like again, we made a subterraneous Passage from one Mine to another, which rendered us capable of doing more Execution than before; neither was there any Occasion of exposing ourselves to the Mouth of the Cannon as before, though our Regiment did. I remember the Cannon Balls came rolling amongst our Tents, and did a great deal of Damage; and what was very uncommon, our Officers Tents were pitched in the Front of the Regiment: I know no Reason why they should be so at that critical Juncture. But our Officers finding there was no playing with edged Tools, our brave Commander, Sir *Richard Temple*, gave Orders for a Sconce to be erected to prevent their Annoyance. And it was done
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in so beautiful a Manner, as to take off all View and Sight they had of us before; which was greatly to our Advantage, but affected them much.

I believe every one will say; the Governor made a brave Resistance. He defended the Place till Money and all Provisions were almost spent: They cut their Plate in Pieces, and stamped the Governor's Head upon it; but finding but little Relief from this, they beat a Parley, but did not come to any Terms; though we all imagined they would have surrendered, as the Time was limited for our Commander to march in. But we found to the contrary. I believe the *French* Soldiers thought as we did; for in the Time of the Parley, our *Geneva* Men went to their Palisades, and sold them a large Quantity of Gin; and they were as familiar one with another, as if they had never been Enemies. But hearing their Cannon fired in the Citadel, every Man went to his respective Post; and finding their Flag was taken down, our Batteries fired with all the Expedition imaginable; and the *French* likewise, without giving us any Respite. A Soldier's Duty is to be always ready at the Word of Command; for one cannot conceive the Quickness of our Commanders Repartees.

When they were all displaying their Cannon from their Platforms, and from all their strong fortified Places, there were some very fine Horses a grazing; and it grieved me to see some of the *French* had crept out of their Works,

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Works, and drove the Horses under the Command or Mouth of their Cannon. This disfigured their Beauty in a short Time, so that it rendered them unfit for Sale; and we could not by any Means in Life rescue them, but were obliged to suffer the poor Cattle to be destroyed by the Mouth of a Cannon; which I was prodigiously sorry for, by Reason they could not make any Resistance themselves.

The Day that our Regiment was relieved out of the Trenches, I went upon a foraging Party. I being the first Corporal upon Command, was obliged to go; and as we were marching along about two Miles from *Tournay*, the Sergeant and I turned ourselves round to admire it, and had some Conference about it's Situation. As we were talking, we could distinguish they had sprung one of their grand Mines, for we saw a prodigious Blaze, and it ascended up into the Air like unto a Cloud. Upon which I said to the Sergeant, *Metbinks I am in Pain, even uncommon Pain, properly Tortures, till I have heard the Effect of what my Eyes have discerned; and I shall be very impatient till we return.* He said, *I am surpris'd you should make yourself uneasy for others Misfortunes.* I told him, *I was surpris'd he should speak with such Imprudence; for a Man had better never have been born, than not have a Feeling for his Fellow-Creature, or not think of his Preservation.* He gave me no Answer, but proceeded in that obstinate selfish Opinion; and I could scarce gather a Word from him all the Time of our Absence

sence from the Army. But at our Return I made a strict Inquisition, and found there was almost a whole Regiment of the *Scotch Hollanders* blown up. There was likewise a Kind of Report spread throughout all our Army, that it was their Intention to blow us all up; but to prevent them we were continually in Motion. As for my Part, I endeavoured to be as active as I could, for I mounted Guard as Sergeant upon a working Party, and took them to a Mine, in order to work at a Sap. There I desired they would be as expeditious as they could, lest they should meet with any Obstruction at that Junction. Some of the Men came running up to the Sap's Mouth, and left their Baskets behind them. I asked, *What was the Matter?* Their Reply was, *That the Enemy was going to spring a Mine.* I asked the Reason of that Imagination. They made Answer, *That they could hear them plainly.* With that I said, *Come, my Boys, I will go along with you, and see or hear if I can the Danger.* I went along the Sap, and they with me, and as soon as I came to the far Side, I could perceive their Employment was like unto ours; therefore I said to our Men, *I don't apprehend any Danger while they are pecking; therefore don't be afraid that any thing can befall you while they are at Work in your Hearing, but when you find they have left off, acquaint me, and I will take Care and bring you out of all Danger.* With that they all went to work, and carried their Number of Baskets very willingly. But after they had done their Duty,

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my old Friend *James Lamb* said, *He did not half like that under Ground Work, but any above Ground he should readily comply to.* There was another Man that was remarkable for a great Eater, his Name was *John Jones*, who belonged to Captain *Cutler's* Company : He said he was prodigious hungry. With that the Men asked him how many Cannon Balls he had eaten for his Breakfast. Then I said to him, *Thou deservest Preferment, if thou canst digest Cannon Balls.* Then Sergeant *Smith* came up to me, and told me, *He had eaten four or six twenty-four Pounds, and as many six or twelve Pounds in a Morning for his Breakfast.* Now this Sergeant was not addicted to tell fabulous Stories, though it seemed incredible to any one's Thinking. But he explained it in this Manner, that the Man often frequented the Fields in Search of those Cannon Balls; that he had used to dig them out of the Banks, and had brought a great Number in a Morning to the Artillery, in order to dispose of them for Money; and the Money he bought his Provision with. Had there been no Cannon Balls flying, he certainly could not have subsisted; for he both eat and drank more than ten moderate Men: So that his daily Study was to provide for his Belly. Then I could not help thinking, that if the Queen's whole Army had such an Appetite, that the Allowance would go but a little Way towards providing for their Stomach. This Man, however, made plentiful Provision for himself; for a Number of Balls, beyond any one's

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one's Imagination, came singing by us, and I said to him, *bark, bark, don't you hear the singing Birds over your Head.* He and the rest gave little Attention, and I had but just spoke the Word, before one flew into a Man's face not two Yards from me, and took his Head clean off from his Shoulders. It had so much effect on me, that it turned me quite round, and I was a little surpris'd and began to look about, and saw the Man's Body without a Head, and my Coat covered with his Brains. So I thought it high time to retire from that Station, and go to my respective Post, lest any one of those singing Birds should take a fancy to me and serve me in the same Sauce.

All the warm Reception the *French* could give us did not any ways discourage our Army, and we invested them in such a manner as to cut off all their Communications, and they found at last, there were no hopes of Relief except they could fight their way through our Army. But as there was but little Prospect of their succeeding in that, they were obliged to capitulate and relinquish all their strong Holds. This happened in a right Time for us; for had they delayed it a little longer, we should have had their numerous Army upon ours, as we were at so short a Distance from each other.

When we had completed that great Work, our General had Orders to march with all the Expedition imaginable, and I will venture to say that he led on briskly; and the Men did not want for Encouragement upon the March.

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We marched all Night, and greatest part of the next Day, before we came to the Ground where we pitched our Tents at the Sun going down. It was just under one of the *French* Lines where we took up our Quarters that Night, and in the Morning early the General beat. I jump't up and awaked those that were asleep, that they might be ready at the Word of Command. For my part I was animated to such a Degree that my Soul was in Raptures, thinking that we were going upon some Expedition, wherein I might have an Opportunity to exert myself, and the Men seeing me in such Spirits, were enlivened so much that they forgot their long March.

The World may say it is a very uncommon Thing, for such an insignificant Fellow as I, to have such Influence over the Men. But yet it is certain, my Word has fled through the whole Regiment in a Minute. What gave me this Ascendant over them was my making up their Deficiencies, and by so doing I had them always at my Beck. What could a Man of my Station desire more? I always thought it a Blessing from the Almighty, therefore I threw my Life and Fortune before him. He saved my Life, but my Fortune was divided amongst Thousands for my Country's Good: Though now I begin to miss it, hoping they will consider the old Soldier, and the Well-wisher to that Employment, and that will compensate for my past Service, and render me capable to exert myself against the *French* at this Critical Juncture;

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as we did at the following Battle of *Malplaquet*, or the Battle of the Wood, which all the World must own was as bold an attempt as ever the World did produce.

The Enemy had the Advantage of the Wood, which would have rendered them capable of destroying the greatest part of us, had they not been intimidated. When we came near the Wood, we threw all our Tent Polls away, and ran into it as bold as Lions. But we were obstructed from being so expeditious as we should, by Reason of their artful Inventions, by cutting down Trees and laying them across, and by tying the Boughs together in all Places. This they thought would frustrate us, and put us into disorder, and in Truth there were but very few Places in that Station in which we could draw up our Men, in any form at all; but where we did it was in this manner. Sometimes ten deep, then we were obstructed and obliged to halt, then fifteen deep or more, and in this confused manner we went through the Wood, but yet all in high Spirits, which was something extraordinary after so great Fatigue. Our brave Duke of *Marlborough*, and all the other commanding Officers in general, were sensible of the advantageous Ground the Enemy had at that Action. Besides the Wood, *Mons* was in our Rear, which obliged us to have a detachment of a hundred Men out of every Regiment, that was at the Siege of the Citadel of *Tournay*, in order block it up. This was a great weakening to us, at the most dangerous attack

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Man can devise, for we were environed round on all sides by our Enemies, and were obliged to fight our way through the midst of them, to support our Honour and Self-preservation. We fought the Battle, but I will acknowledge that God gained the Victory: For without him we could have done nothing of ourselves. These were my Thoughts all the time we were placing ourselves in a Form, that we might be in a Capacity to receive their warm Charge, which was done at the Edge or Border of the Wood. Then we cast our Eyes upon a Breast-work that was not above half a Furlong from the Wood, to which Sir *Richard Temple*, who commanded our Brigade, ordered us to advance. I was in Front of the first Division, and could perceive the *French* were well prepared to give us a warm Salute. It soon broke us in a terrible manner, though our Vacancies were quickly filled up. I was prodigious sorry to see our Lieutenant Colonel *Ramsay* shot dead, and expire in a Moment. Nay I was obliged to squeeze my right hand Man, or I could not have avoided stepping upon him; which I was unwilling to do, though he could not have felt me. When we got clear of the dead and wounded we ran upon them, and returning their Fire, even drove them out of the Breast-work. Then they retreated to another, but in a confused manner. Then we were commanded to fall off to the Right, that the second Battalion might draw themselves up in a Body, in order to exert themselves as we did before. A *Dutch Regiment*

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at the same time behaved with a great deal of Courage and Conduct. The *Welch* Fusiliers, made our Ground good at the Breast-work that we had deprived them of. I could perceive upon the Right of our Battalion, the second Battalion of Guards fired by Platoons, and behaved incomparably well. Neither were the *French* deficient in their Attack, but both sides behaved to Admiration; therefore we said one to another, *the Guards are endeavouring to gain their Honour*. The Reason of that Saying was, old Soldiers had used to call them *Vain's Army*; because they were always used to fine Service, and never to suffer the Hardships that others are subject to. But what I disliked them for was, the Moment they had gone through their Battalion with their Platoon firing, they behaved themselves like Black-guards, by plundering their own Dead, and pulling them about before they were cold or quite dead. So that my Bowels yearned for their Cruelty. Thus I found they fought for Gain; and I am afraid there are too many of that Stamp.

The next Attack we could distinguish, that there were some Misunderstandings among the *French*, which rose to great Disputes, and all through a froward Commander. While they were a jarring our brave Commander Sir *Richard Temple* made up to them, in order to learn the Difference that subsisted between them, and by so doing he disfranked them; and ended all Disputes by a Volley of Fire-arms, that rendered a great number of them insensible of knowing what

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what had past. Then they returned our Volley with great Success. I may say it, for my right and left hand Man were shot dead, and in falling had almost thrown me down, for I could scarce prevent my falling among the dead Men. Then I said to the second Rank, *come, my Boys, make good the Front.* With that they drew up. Then I said, *never fear, we shall have better Luck the next Throw.* But I just saved my Word, for my right hand Man was shot through the Head, and the Man that followed me was shot through the Groin, and I escaped all, though nothing but the Providence of God could protect me. Then our rear Man was called up to be a Front; but the poor Man was struck with a Panick, fearing that he should share the same Fate as the others did. He endeavoured to half cover himself behind me, but I put my Hand behind me and pulled him up, and told him, *that I could no ways screen him,* for he was sensible a Man behind me was shot. By strong Persuasion I prevailed upon him, so that he was not in the least daunted, but stood it out as bold as a Lion. We received a great many Vollies after that, and one time I remember it wounded my Captain and took my left hand Man, and almost swept off those that were on my Right, so that it left the Man that was intimidated, and myself alone. Then I said, *come, Partner, there is nothing like having good Courage.* So we filled up our Ranks in a regular Form, and when we had so done, we fired upon them briskly and with great Success: For they were repulsed,

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and almost afraid to face us any more, after our sharp firing, but were glad to retreat, and fall back as fast as they could. Then we cast our Eyes to the left, and could perceive a Breast-work: I could distinguish that the *French* were lining it with all the Expedition imaginable. Upon that I had some Conference with my Colonel, and told him that without great Care we should be flank'd. He was a Man of a polite Genius, and I could observe that he had a great deal of Conduct to guide his Actions, which was a great Addition to his Profession, especially at that Juncture where thousands of Lives were depending. After our noble Colonel had heard my Discourse, he called to Sir *Richard Temple* and said, that his Battalion would be flank'd. He replied, *no, go on yet, Colonel, for there is an absolute Necessity for it.* We were eager to go on, for we desired to be expeditious in our Attack. With that the Colonel called to Sir *Richard* again, and said, *if he must go on, he would go on.* Then the Aid de Camp came and said, *go on*, but the Colonel spoke first, and said, *wheel to the left of the Battalion.* Those words we observed, and as swift as Thought we ran upon their Breast-works with a huzza, and gave them a warm Fire, which made them tumble one over another. At the same time, the *Welch* Fusiliers being upon the right of them, flank'd them with a kind Salute, which jammed them together in their Breast-works. So we did not give them time to plunder their Dead, neither did they approve of it, lest we should in-

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crease their number of Corps. I would not have you think the *French* were idle, for as our Battalion was running upon the Breast-works they fired upon us and killed a great number, though inferior to their own. Then we had Orders to wheel to the right. Had we not the *French* Horse would certainly have fallen upon our Rear. This happened at the Ground where we first made our Attack. But when we faced them, they backed their Horses as fast as they could, and we advanced and retreated in the Front of them, for a considerable time, till they opened to the Right and Left. Then they advanced forward. With that we fell back a little and made a Halt. Our Commander, Sir *Richard Temple*, was very active, and shewed a great deal of Ingenuity at that Juncture. I could perceive it by the Orders. Our Colonel ordered the Drum to beat a March; accordingly they did, though our marching was very slow; but we lifted up our Feet as fast as we could, in such a manner that they imagined we were coming bodily upon them. With that the Horse would fall back and make a Halt, and we did in like manner. This was the Method we used advancing and retreating, till such time as their Foot thought proper to make off. Then the Horse thought fit to make all the Haste they could after them, so it was properly a general Retreat. Then we were commanded to pursue, which we did, but to no purpose. I remember when we mounted a Hill we could perceive they were upon another opposite to us, and sent us a Salute by the

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Mouth of three Cannon, as an Adieu; the first Cannon Ball grafed in the Front but did no Damage at all, and the Colonel desired we would lye down, for we should have another or two and we found it as he observed. After three Cannons were fired we got up in high Spirits, for we were under no Apprehensions of having any more: So that did not much obstruct us, in making our Pursuit; and we soon put the *French* to the run. But it availed us little, having only occasioned the *French* to get into Garifon sooner than they would have done, had not we pursued them.

As we found they were determined not to face us any more, we returned to our Army, or the Ground we gained by our Dexterity, and artful Inventions. It being the close of the Day, we all began to think of Rest, and having no Tents to fix, we were obliged to take up with such Quarters as we could find. We were all dispersed in a short Time, some in one place, and some in another. I remember well, after I had pitched upon whom I thought proper to go along with me, I perceived a House at some distance, whither we all agreed to go together, hoping to find it empty. But we found it the reverse, for it was full of miserable Objects, that were disabled and wounded in such a manner that I thought them past all Recovery. Therefore I said to my Companions, *I don't think there is a Possibility of our having any Rest this Night.* We endeavoured to the utmost of our Ability to get out of the Noise of the wounded, but

but found it almost impossible, except we had gone three or four Miles distance, for all the Hedges and Ditches were lined with disabled Men. Therefore we returned to an Orchard and laid ourselves down in as warm a Place as we could find, but the horrible Cries and Groans of the wounded terrified my Soul, so that I was in Tortures and fancied I felt their Sufferings. So I could not lay my Eye-lids together all that Night, for one Thought or other that came fresh into my Mind, after the Agony I was in for my Fellow Creatures. In the first place, I considered myself as a great Debtor to the all-seeing Power of the Almighty for his inestimable Goodness towards me, for conducting me through that glorious Victory where nothing but the Hand of God could be our Assistant. I can justly say it by Experience in regard to myself, for I was encompassed round with Dead; at the first Attack my Colonel was shot dead before me, then I had a Man shot behind me, and twice my right and left hand Men were shot. Thousands would think it morally impossible to escape in such a Case; but Impossibilities with Man, are possible with God. Therefore it reminded me of our Saviour's Words, *that a Sparrow should not fall to the Ground without his Permission*. Then I could not help thinking that I should always be a Debtor, never able to compensate for so great a Blessing. My Soul was still very thoughtful, and I remembered the Words of King William, *that every Ball that kills or wounds has his Com-*

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mission before it is fired. The Reason of that Thought was, the Balls went through my Clothes, even through my Hat; and one time I remember when a Cannon Ball took my Shirt-Sleeve off. Now I can say by learned Experience, neither of those Balls had a Commission to kill or wound. Therefore I will say once more, that Providence was my chief Conductor, and those that trust in any Thing else to aid them, will trust to a broken Staff. These were my Thoughts while others slept.

In the Morning all the separated got together again, to receive Orders; accordingly we were commanded to bury our Dead, and when we had so done, there were Orders issued out to get some Tent-polls, in order that we might form our Camp. As we entered into the Wood, I cast my Eyes around and saw two Men almost naked and prodigiously wounded; I could perceive they were something better than private Men, though not by their Apparel. I asked them several Questions, but the chief thing I understood was they said they were Captains of the *French*; at the same time my Bowels yearned for them with Tenderness of Heart. Therefore I got all the Rags together I could, in order to cover them. Humanity obliged me to it; and I think it intolerable to plunder the Living as well as the Dead. For my own part I could never have Patience to see Barbarity used after a Battle, for my Soul was always in Pain for the wounded upon the account of the cruel Usage they met with, when they fell into the Hands

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of those that have no feeling for either God or Man, which was the Fate of these two unfortunate Men. When I left them, they rendered me a thousand Thanks, but I always thought there was a Duty incumbent on me to act as I did, therefore there was no need of all these Thanks, when a Man is bound in Duty to be humane.

These were my Thoughts during the time of our getting the Tent-polls, and when we returned to the Place appointed to form our Camp in, I found there was something in Agitation. Therefore I made a strict Enquiry, but could have no Intelligence till we had formed our Camp. Then I found there were Orders issued out, for an Army to go and lay Siege to *Mons*. Though I was not there, yet I was desirous of going to see the hundred Men that were detach'd out of our Regiment before the former Battle was begun, in order to prevent the *French* having so much Influence over us, in case we had not been so successful as to have gained the Field: For they might very possibly have drawn themselves out of Garison, and pursued us as we did them. But as our Men were planted in such a manner, that there was no Possibility of their coming out without receiving a warm Reception, they thought it prudent to continue there, till such time as we had an Opportunity to oblige them to relinquish their strong Hold, and take them by Violence: I began to be impatient and longed to be with them; therefore I took an Opportunity and went to take a Review of their Performances, and it happened the

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the Day that they beat a Parley. At my Appearance upon the Spot, I could perceive upon the Breaches a great Number of jolly Men to look at, then I said to our Men, *why do you let those Men stand there as an Ornament? Likewise I observed to our Army, that those were the Pickings of the French Army: I said again, it was not the Bulk of the Man that doth Execution, but the lively active Man that is the best Soldier; for Example, don't you all remember the Stripling that slew Goliath, therefore a little Man should not be intimidated at the Sight of a helpless Body, a Body without a Heart.* Such Conversation I had with our Men, after the Parley. So that we were extremely merry, and we had Reason enough for Mirth, for we had succeeded in every Thing we undertook that Year.

I returned to our Camp with great Joy, that we had completed and done every Thing effectually that was requisite to finish our Campaign. Then all Preparation imaginable was made for marching. I remember our Regiment marched with the Artillery and Baggage, in order to conduct it to our respective Quarters. We marched upon the Causeway, that was reported to be made on purpose for the *French* to draw their Artillery from *Brussels* to *Mons*, which was a great many Miles distance from each other. So we diverted ourselves with one thing or other, which made it a pleasant March to *Ghent*. Now I will take the Liberty of closing this Year up, to the Memory of his Grace the Duke of *Marlborough*, who was once, what never was before,

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not ever will be after, a Man of the greatest Conduct and Vigor; and I dare say, that what we did that Year, through the Instigation of that brave Duke, ever will endure so long as *Blenheim House* stands in *Woodstock Park Oxfordshire*. The last time I rode through it, it revived my Soul to see the Statue of that brave *English Man*, whom none can outdo, and I believe in Justice none will gainsay but corroborate my Opinion.

C H A P. XXV.

The Siege of Doway in 1710: Bouchain taken: St. Venant and Aire besieged: Remarkable Incidents before the latter: Manner of living in the Trenches.

IN 1710 I went round to all our Regiment in Order to enliven them by saying, *if we succeeded the next Campaign, it would be a Means to break the Hearts of the French*. They all agreed to my Sentiments, and said, *they did not doubt it in the least; as they had been obstructed hitherto, their feeble Hearts would not serve them to exert themselves this ensuing Campaign*. They I made answer, *that they would be intimidated at the Sight of us, and it would strike such a Terror into their Breasts as would oblige them to surrender*. *They have not Hearts like us, if they had it might prove our Destruction! Therefore let us drink Success to her Majesty's Arms, and let it go round merrily; for the Support of her*
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most excellent Majesty relies upon the Heart only, therefore I don't doubt but you will all be candid enough to think as I do. This was my daily Advice, for ten Days before we set out for the Camp; though it was the occasion of my expending some Pounds; but I did not value my Money, so long as I could accomplish my intended Desire, by my Remonstrance. I always thought that sufficiently compensated my Trouble, this was the Recreation that I applied, which created a great deal of Delight, so that we left Ghent in high Spirits, and marched to the Plains of Doway, where we encamped.

At that Juncture, part of our Army went off, in order to besiege the Town of Doway; that animated me to the highest Degree imaginable, thinking there was some Prospect of Employment. Therefore I said to my Conversants, *What do you think of it now, Gentlemen? How far will your Judgment carry you, shall we succeed in this Attempt or not?* They replied, *They did not doubt of succeeding in that and in every thing else we should undertake this Year.* I answered, *May it be so in God's Name, and I don't question but that it will be a Means to break the Heart of the War, or at least render us capable of taking what we desire without the use of Fire-arms. For methinks I can perceive their Army in horrible Fears, though at this distance, which was about a League.* They made answer, *If so, we certainly shall find it as you say, for they will make little or no Resistance after this Year, if they are struck with a Panick already.* Gentle-

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men, said I, if they are or are not, pray give me your Opinion whether it is an Act of Prudence or not, for a Soldier to think so. They answered, Bishop, we know that you are of a distinguishing Capacity, therefore we will refer it to your Judgment, and when we have had your Approbation, then we will speak. Gentlemen, you honour me greatly in giving me the Preference; but since you require it I will give you my Sentiments in a few Words. ' Suppose any of you, Gentlemen, were sensible of another's being afraid of you, you would fight courageously till such time as you had got the better of him; but if you thought the reverse, it is very possible you might be afraid to look him in the Face. I don't think all Mankind of that Disposition, but I am afraid the greatest Number are. Therefore hitherto it has been my daily Study to inspire that true Courage that might avail us, when we come to engage. I am sensible, through my Instigation, you have done more than one could imagine, and following this Rule I shall always look on it as the best Means to ensure the Safety of any Army.

' Bishop, said they, we can't disprove what you say, and like your Notion well, being convinced that Man may be wrought on by Arguments to exert himself with more Vigor and Conduct; therefore there is nothing like spiriting Men up, especially in the time of Battle, where nothing but lively Courage can support them, and on it is their whole Dependence.'

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In this manner we held a Confabulation. Then a sudden Thought came into my Head, that as the *French Army* lay on the other side of *Artois*, and *Vitry*, places almost upon a Line, I could like to go and dare them to Action, or at least keep them in a perpetual Motion. It was not long before I had my Desire, for I was appointed as one to go upon a Major's Command. I was highly diverted that I should be upon that Command, because it fulfilled my Desire. I remember when we came within a Furlong of the *Frenob*, we put ourselves in a Posture to receive them, if they thought proper to attack us; but they thought it prudent to continue within their Breast-works, which were at the End of a Lane, proceeding from a Mill. At the said Mill we made all the Expedition we could, in making another to answer theirs.

When we had completed it, there was a very uncommon Thing happened, which I think proper to relate here. A Sergeant, that belonged to my Lord *Hartford's* Regiment, had a Sister in the *French* Service; he was very desirous of going to make an Enquiry after her; therefore he took Courage, and asked the Major Leave, who readily gave his Consent. With that the Sergeant went off, in order to make a strict Inquisition after her, and she readily came to him. The Joy they expressed at Meeting were inconceivable, and created a great deal of Mirth, both amongst our Officers, and private Men in general. I remember she brought a

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Bottle of Brandy in order to treat her Brother, and they were in great Raptures during the Time they continued together. In the Interim our Officers were prodigious jocular and pleasant, and desired the Woman to sit down in Company with them. They were a jovial Crew, and drank round the Table like Sons of *Bacchus*. The Woman, being in excessive high Spirits, was as quick with her Repartees as possible. In the first Place our Officers boasted of our Provisions being far better than the *French Army's*, *that we had good Beef, Bacon, and extremely fine Geneva; good Bread, and, above all, the English Pay was double that of the French.* One would have imagined these were Arguments sufficient to work upon a Woman's Heart; but all they said had no Effect on her. She told them, *She thought the French Provisions were preferable to ours; that all the World would allow their Bread to be better than that of any other Nation; they had fine juicy Beef, none better to her Palate; and Brandy enough, which revived her Soul; what could a Woman desire more?* Such like Conversation passed between our Officers and the Woman as they sat all round the Table. But her Stay created a Jealousy in the *French*, so that they sent a Drum over their Breast-works to our Guard. Then we sent another to their's. Upon this, one of the *French Officers* came over, and advanced forward; and one of our's went and met him half way. They saluted each other with a great deal of Ceremony, and a great many Compliments

ments passed between them. Then they both returned to their respective Posts, and soon after we sent the Woman and a Drum in order to conduct her safe; upon which they sent back our's. But the poor Sergeant's Joy was turned to Mourning; for he took on greatly, when he saw himself disappointed of getting his Sister into our Army. Soldiers are Men that one may depend upon their keeping their Word of Honour, and they never forfeit it to each other, after they have passed it. And in Truth, no Man could be called honourable, who did any thing for Gain, or Interest of any Kind. Thus in Justice they could not keep the Woman, but were obliged to submit for their Word Sake.

In the Evening we planted a Sentry, and they another. The two Guards were only about forty Paces distant, and the Officers took it into their Heads, as they had made themselves so free by Day, to be sociable and converse together by Night, which was contrary to military Discipline. Therefore Orders were issued out to forbear associating with each other, unless they were resolved to incur the Punishment inflicted in such Cases. This put an End to all their Conferences; and it was absolutely necessary at that critical Juncture, as the *French* are the fittest People in the World to decoy a free generous hearted Man. Their Looks and Behaviour are all Complaisance and Kindness, but their Hearts are full of Deceit; therefore there is no Safety where they dwell.

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When we left that Ground, we marched in order to cover the Siege of *Doway*. The *French* were exasperated, and made an Attempt to surprize us. Therefore it was thought prudent to entrench ourselves, and when we had so done, we made a large Fire, and the *French* seeing it, advanced forward towards it. When they came near, we desired they would not make any Scruple of coming to warm themselves if they were a cold. They thought it too difficult a Matter to force our Line, therefore they looked upon it and made off, being sensible we were otherways employed, and could not conveniently reckon with them till we had completed our Design, which was to burn several Houses, in order to deprive them of all the Shelter we could. When we had so done, it discouraged them greatly, and rendered them unfit to make a second Attempt, knowing we were so well prepared. Thus it was not long before the Town of *Doway* was obliged to surrender. Upon this I said, *Come, my Boys, there is something to begin with; and we shall make every Thing submit to us this Year.*

After we had left that Ground, we made all the Expedition we could for *Bethune*, which was closely invested by our Army; that terrified their Souls, and rendered them unfit for any thing but to come into our Measures. After that was taken, I could not help pleasing myself with the Thoughts of accomplishing so great an Enterprize, or making some Observations during the Time of our Continuance at that

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Ground. I said to our Men, *What do you think of it now? Has not our brave Duke of Marlborough completed every Thing I foretold you? And I don't question if the War was to continue seven Years longer, but he would utterly demolish all the French Garisons. You all find, it is in vain to fight against the providential Power of the Almighty; for through his inestimable Goodness the Battle may be gained without Bloodshed; for it is not always by the Force of Fire Arms, nor by the Sword of Steel, that the Victory is obtained.* Some gave true Attention to what had been said, but some would say, *What signifies minding that Nonsense?* Therefore I thought it high Time to cease my Instructions; for when they once scoffed at my Reproof, I never could apply to them again, till such Time as they reflected on themselves. But how imprudent is it in Man to drive Things off till there is not a Possibility of having Relief! Surely they have nothing but a diabolical Spirit in them; if they had not, they certainly would be compliable; but while that over-ruling Spirit is in them, I don't wonder at their Destruction.

When we left that Ground, we went off in two Divisions, in order to besiege *St. Venna*, and *Aire*. I remember well these following Regiments went off under the Command of Prince *Hannau* to *Aire*, my Lord *Orkney's*, Lord *Hartford's*, the *Queen's*, General *Godfrey's* and *Kean's*. We all went off in high Spirits, hoping to have Success. This animated the major Part of us to such a Degree, that we were
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very expeditious in our marching, till such Time as we had *Aire* in our View. Then we drew our selves up in Form.

At that Time I was forming an Idea of the Place in my Mind, and consulting within myself how we might proceed, it being a Place of great Force, where we were sure to receive great Annoyance, before we had completed our Designs. Yet this Prospect did not in the least discourage me: Though I believe the greatest Part of Men in my Sphere have no Notion of defending themselves against Annoyance, but are like an Ox that is taken to the Slaughter, that cannot distinguish whether he is in Danger or not. Those Men that are thus insensible, will run on fool-hardily, and think to storm Castles by looking upon them, without using any Ingenuity at all in order to preserve their own Lives. Now I will venture to say those Men wilfully seek their own Destruction; they are not worthy to be called Soldiers, but Madmen: But I made them sensible of their Default, and told them the Consequence of Things, which did in some Measure convince them of their Error. *Gentlemen, said I, we shall have Employment enough in making Fascines and Gabions, in order to make a complete Parapet or Battery. It is absolutely necessary to raise a Breast-work, to prevent the Annoyance of their Cannon and small Shot, that will fall upon us like so much Hail; if it was not for those Inventions, we should be utterly demolished.* In this Manner I conversed with those whom I saw

ignorant of the Affair, and they found it as I observed.

We had as fine a Time as the Heavens could produce, to form our Siege, and to put ourselves in a Capacity to receive their warm Reception: Though we had Reason enough to be intimidated, had we not had Hearts like Lions to carry on the Siege with Conduct and Vigor. Neither did we want for Encouragement; for his Royal Highness the Prince of Han-nau would walk backward and forward in the Trenches, and say, *Come, brave Englishmen, I am determin'd not to have this Beard cut off, till such Time as the Town surrenders.* Reader, I leave you to judge, whether it was not a fine black Beard of ten Weeks Growth. But by that Means he enlivened our Men, and it rendered them capable of doing their Duty to Admiration. However, *Webb's* Regiment was prodigiously shattered; for we went off in working Parties, and sometimes as we were working there would a Shell fall amongst the Midst of us, and blow up in a Moment. But for my Part, I knew how to deal with those terrible Engines, and prevailed upon some to do as I did; that was to fall down like one dead. But there were some that would not be made sensible of their Danger from it, and would step over it one after another. I said, *That is a fine Thing to play with.* The Word was hardly out of my Mouth, before it burst asunder, tore them that stepped over it in Pieces, and killed several others at a great Distance; but I and

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some others that had taken my Advice, were not above three Yards, and received little or no Damage. Then I said, *Look there, through their Obstinacy they suffer Death.* The Men were enamoured with me, and said, *Our Lives are owing to you.* I made Answer, *No, it was not in my Power to save your Lives, but the Providence of God directed that I should be the chief Instrument of your Preservation.*

It was not long before I was commanded to take twelve Men upon a working Party. I was very unhappy in that Command, by Reason there were seven or eight of them that disapproved of my Advice some Time before, and called it Nonsense. Therefore I must needs own I was struck with a Panick, fearing something extraordinary should befall us upon their Account, for they were mere Reprobates; and I believe, if in their Power, they would have been guilty of every Thing that was vile. But you'll find they were prevented. As I marched them along, there came from the Garison a Cannon Ball that knocked down six of the eight. One would think that almost impossible; but what my Eyes have seen I can justify. I said, *Look there are six wallowing in their Gore, that have often exclaimed against my Sentiments.* Then the other two reflected on themselves, and said, *Now we own there is such a Thing as Providence, and that nothing but the Hand of God could direct that Ball to kill six, and leave the rest standing.* So there were two converted by the others Destruction,

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and they behaved themselves like Men upon their Command, and ever after shewed me some Respect, being very desirous of being employed where I could overlook them. But that could not always be, for I was continually in Action; if not in the working Parties, I was otherways engaged.

Then I remember I was commanded to take six Men along with me to a certain Place, in order to keep a constant firing. Accordingly I did, but when we came to the Place appointed, I found it would not admit of perpetual firing; for we were obliged to get up and down: Therefore, after the first Round, I desired the Men would stand in the Trenches below, and load as fast as they could, and I would get up and fire as fast as they could hand me up the Firelocks, that it might be called a continual Firing. The Men were highly pleased with my Proposal, knowing that it was a Place the Enemy had a great Suspicion of, and great Numbers had been killed and wounded upon the Spot. But I was not in the least intimidated at the Sight of dead Men, but went to my Station, and planted myself in as firm a Posture as I could. I made my Hole bigger by moving my Sand-bags, in order that I might have sufficient Room to put my Firelock in with Ease, Then I levelled and fired with great Success, for I took particular Notice of their Flashes, and by that Means I believe did great Execution. I believe it was as warm an Engagement as ever Man undertook; for the Balls would come dab
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dab against the Sand-bags, that one would have imagined it was almost impossible to escape being killed; for I have had them come through the Hole where I put my Firelock. They would create a Blast of Air, but nothing to prejudice me; so I continued in that Manner till I was relieved; but I had three or four Hours continual firing first; which made all the Firelocks so prodigious hot, that I could not endure my Hand upon the Barrels, and likewise gave all the Men a moderate Sweat by loading. You may imagine I was very hot with firing, for it is hard Work, especially to follow it as I did. This was the Method I took, and by so doing I gained the Love of all our Regiment; and in Truth, none of the Army that had any Knowledge of me, but what loved to be upon a Command with me; and for my Part, I have made Interest to go upon some Expedition or other, and thought myself happy when in Action.

But I was obliged to return to our Regiment, and it was not long after that it was relieved. We met some of the *Brandenburgh* Guards just coming out of the Trenches, in order to cut off some of the Ground from the Garison, but the Enemy endeavoured to prevent them, for they threw several Shot amongst them, which killed a great Number. Notwithstanding, the others, with a great deal of Conduct, completed their Design. I remember one Time we were in Expectation of a Sally; for the Enemy mounted over the Trenches before Break of

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Day, and prodigious still they were. But I that had my Eyes upon the Surface of the Earth, could perceive that they advanced forward: With that I crept upon the Ground with my Hands and Knees: I was so prodigiously used to that Employment, that I slid over the Ground as fast as some could walk: So it was not long before I acquainted the Officer what I had seen. He said, Bishop, *I beg you will act with all the Prudence imaginable, and post a Sentry where you think proper.* Accordingly I obeyed, and took a Man and planted him in a Form that he might distinguish whether any thing moved or not, and desired him to follow my Directions strictly. *If one or two came by to let them pass, but if there came three a-breast, your Orders are to fire upon them, and make off with all the Expedition you can.*

Our Gentlemen Soldiers in *England* little think of the Hardships we endure abroad; therefore I thought proper to make them sensible of them at this Juncture. They think it a great Hardship to stand in a sentry Box; though had they been in my Place, I am certain they would have found a Difference between lying flat upon the Ground with our Firelocks before us, and standing upon their Legs under Shelter. For my Part, I have thought myself the happiest Man in the World, if any Thing was before me, even so small a Thing as a Football. A Man in *England* is not apprised of those Things, therefore I thought it high Time to acquaint him, lest he should think

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Things hard which are not, in Regard to true military Employment. But as I have given you a Kind of an Abstract of the Manner in which we performed our Duty, I think proper to explain how we lived in the Trenches. We got two or three Bushels of Beans, and a Bushel of Wheat at a Time: So some Days we had boiled Beans, and sometimes when we mounted the Trenches we made ourselves Dumplings, which we thought extremely good Living. I have often thought it created as good Spirits as roast Meat. I think proper to observe one Thing more: In the Beginning of the Siege we had very fine Weather, but the latter End was excessively wet and uncomfortable; so that we were obliged to lay Fascines upon the Bottom of the Trenches, and Flakes upon that; and by that Means the Water sunk through all and kept us dry under Foot. Thus we made ourselves as comfortable as we could, all the Time we continued there. The *Dutch* were of great Use to us by bringing us Sustenance in order to nourish and strengthen us against the Severity of the Weather; they brought us Geneva and Coffee, and Brotherkeys. I generally drank Coffee in a Morning, which I found was very refreshing, after a Night's Duty upon the cold Ground, where we were obliged to relieve one another upon our Hands and Knees, as I observed before.

I remember our Regiment was in the Trenches the Morning the besieged beat a Parley, and I don't believe there was one Man but was prodigiously well

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well pleased with hearing that Signal given ; knowing that the Days and the Weather would not admit of much more Exercise. When our commanding Général had taken Possession of the Town, and every Thing was done to their Satisfaction, the Officers in general began to think of going into Garison, as there was no Likelihood of any thing more to be done that Year, it being the latter End of *October*, before we obliged the Enemy to submit to us. When we left that Place, we marched directly to *Ghent* : On our Arrival there, we found our Quarters were to be in the Castle of Arms, upon *St. Peter's Hill* ; which I was highly delighted with, knowing that I should be kindly received by all my Acquaintance ; and I did not flatter myself in the least ; for their Kindness was more than I could have expected, and I was as happy, and lived as much to my Satisfaction, as any Officer in the Army ; which is a bold Word to say, from such an insignificant Fellow as me. Though had not my Conversation been to some Purpose, in putting every Thing in it's clear Light, I don't think that ever I should have arrived to such a Pitch of Friendship as I did ; for I had daily Invitation, and at last it came without any Compliment at all. What could a Man of my Station desire more, than the Oil of Grace poured on him daily, which strengthened and refreshed my Soul and Body, and brought Things into their proper Orb ; and for which I thanked my God, knowing that every Thing came through his

inestimable Goodness and Mercy. Thus I conclude this Year.

C H A P. XXVI.

The Author's Desire to go on the Expedition to Canada: Arrives in New England: Indian King visits their Camp near R. & In great Danger at Sea: Issue of the Attempt on Quebec: Returns to England: Edgar Man of War blown up: Goes into Winter Quarters at Shrewsbury.

IN 1711, hearing that our brave Duke of Marlborough was gone to England, I began to be under some Apprehension that he would not return; therefore I concluded the Neck of the War was broke, and that I should be disappointed of the Pleasure of seeing *Paris* that Year; though we were once in Hopes of arriving to that Honour, had not our Conductor been detained in *England*. His Genius and Conduct was deserving of the honorable Title of Prince of the Holy Empire; for he was beloved by the Generality of Mankind, even Foreigners as well as *Englishmen*: Even none could avoid giving him their Praise; and he was worthy of all, for his good Discipline and good Order; and the greatest Blessing of all, his Success in all his Attempts, which was owing to his profound Knowledge in sending proper Emissaries to observe the Enemy's Motions. *Ob!* said I, *must we part from such a Man, whose Fame has spread throughout all the World?* On

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On hearing that it was confirmed that he was no longer to command, it terrified my Soul to such a Degree, that I could not rest Night or Day, and it obliged me to cast some Reflections; and I believe all Well-wishers to *England* will think as I did. O *England*! *it was once in thy Power to have ruined France; even to have taken her Capital, and then to have triumphed over her.* But as we then gave the Power out of our own Hands, the *French* are triumphing daily over us, by making a second Attempt to invade us; that is their Return for our Humanity towards them. O *England*, *I hope thou art sensible of thy Errors; for they are easily to be discerned by this clear Light.* Thou hadst it in thy Power one Time to make all Nations submit to thee, and to bring them under thy Jurisdiction; but now they say, they will dispute it with you: Therefore receive me, that I may wage War against them so long as I am able; for that is entirely what I wish for; knowing that the Enemy is deserving of more than there is a Possibility to inflict on them. This Hope strengthens my Courage, and renders me the more capable to exert myself; for my Resolution is the same as ever.

At my hearing that the Duke of Marlborough had entirely resigned his Command, I was determined with a full Resolution, if nothing prevented me, to go upon the first Expedition that should happen; and to my good Fortune I was not baulked in my Design; though with some Difficulty I obtained that Favour. Upon my hearing that Colonel Kain's Regiment was coming

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ing from *Courtray* to *Ghent*, in order to go upon a Descent on *Canada*, I thought there might be a Possibility of making an Exchange with another Man, that might be unwilling to go upon that Expedition. I flattered myself with those Hopes, till such Time as the Regiment came to *Ghent*: Then I went round to all, in order to learn their Sentiments of this Expedition; and by so doing, I found that several would gladly change. Then I found out a Means to get it reported to all the Officers in general, that no Man should go against his own Inclination, if they purposed any Good of them. Upon this Report the Officers took the Matter into Consideration, and granted their Request. This strengthened my Hopes. Therefore I made my Application to my Captain, telling him, *I had a great Fancy to go upon this Expedition, and that I knew of a brave jolly Corporal that would exchange with me.* He made Answer, Bishop, thou art one of the most surprising Men in the World; any reasonable Man would have thought that your Employment of late would have satisfied you, without thinking of new Projects. Besides, now all the Officers in the Regiment are acquainted with your Behaviour, you need not doubt in the least having Preferment soon. Therefore let me intreat you not to think of any such Thing. If you have any Thoughts of raising yourself in the Army, continue where you are; and not think of going into a young Regiment, for there is no Prospect of any thing there, only to be broke after the Heat of the War is over. And you may
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take my Word, that you will never have the Opportunity of making yourself known, as well as you are here. Dear Sir, said I, your Advice animates my Soul, and I render you a thousand Thanks for the same; but yet pardon me, I must endeavour to fulfil my Resolutions so long as I live. Not that I have any Dislike to the Regiments at all, neither is there any room for Reflections of any kind. But you may distinguish my Disposition. I came into the Army with an Intention to be of Service to my Queen and Country, therefore I am under some Apprehensions of Fear, that there will little or nothing more be done in this Part of the World. Therefore I beg to exchange. You know I am never happy but in Action. Excuse me, but I am in hopes of finding what I wish for in extraneous Lands. Well, Bishop, as your Resolution is so fully bent upon going, I advise you to go to the Colonel, for I can't do any thing without his Approbation.

So ended our Confabulation, then I went immediately to my Colonel, and said, Sir, with humble Submission I beg your Honour will be so kind as to grant me one Favour, and then as in Duty bound I shall ever pray for you. Well, Bishop, what is it you want that I can oblige you in. Sir, I am afraid to divulge it lest I should incur your Displeasure, and by so doing you would obstruct me in my Design. He being very desirous of knowing what I wanted that might incur his Displeasure, I took Courage, and told him in a free spontaneous Manner, ' I understand there is something in Agitation
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‘that I would gladly come into, as it might
 render me more capable to exert myself, or
 at least I might have more Opportunity to be
 of Service to my Fellow-Creatures, than it is
 possible I can here. Colonel Kain’s Regi-
 ment is going upon the descent on *Canada*,
 and hearing that several have exchanged, I
 take the Liberty of asking whether I might
 go or not, knowing of a clever Man that will
 exchange with me, if you would be so kind
 as to grant me my Request.’ ‘*Bishop*, re-
 plied he, you don’t imagine that we shall
 change any of our best Men, to go upon such
 an Expedition as that, no, none that we set any
 great Value upon.’ ‘Then, pray Sir, let me
 be one of them.’ ‘No! said he, I would not
 have you think of going; I thought you might
 have been in Storms enough by Sea, to cure
 you from ever thinking of going again. Like-
 wise as you have been at so many Atchieve-
 ments by Land to my Knowledge, I shall al-
 ways respect you, therefore take it from me
 as your Friend, and stay where you are, for
 your own Good, and my Satisfaction.’ ‘Sir, I
 have an Idea, that something might happen
 that may be of great Service, therefore I
 hope you will not detain me from where my
 Inclination leads me; for all that I mean is
 with a good Intent, and I shall be very un-
 happy if your Honour don’t take it into Con-
 sideration, for I have an irresistible Spirit in
 me, and can’t suffer myself to be disappointed
 of my Intentions.’ ‘He answered, he would
 consider of it. So

So ended our Conference; but I thought that was not a satisfactory Answer, therefore I made it my Business to go from one Officer to another to solicit my Case, and I found there was a great Meeting upon my Account, and as good Fortune would have it, there were several that interceded for me, and procured me the Favour. Upon my succeeding I went round to all the Officers, thinking it was my Duty to take my Leave of them in a handsom manner. They all acknowledged my past Service, and wished me a successful Voyage. When I had so done I spent the Night as jovial as I could, and had Company enough, to make it agreeable; for there were but few in the Regiment but what came and drank with me, by turns, which caused some Pounds to be expended, and in the Morning there were most of our Company ready to accompany me part of the Way. As soon as I came without *Bruges* Port at *Ghent* I divested myself, thinking it was not improper to exchange my Clothes as well as my Person. I was in Major *Allen's* Company who received me kindly, and we marched merrily along in the Road to *Ostend*, and I believe my old Comrades had a Mind to go along with me; for I had much to do to prevail upon them, to part from me, before we came to *Ostend*. But at last, by my Persuasions they returned, though they all shed Tears, and said, *they should never meet with such another Friend as me*. I said, *Never fear, my Boys, have a good Heart, there are Men of very superior Judgment to me, if*
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they would not think it beneath them to make use of it, in the same manner I did. They made answer, *Their Lives were owing to me, therefore we can justly say, and have had experimental Proofs of it, that none can exceed you.* So they parted with heavy Hearts, with the words Farewell and Adieu.

I made all the haste imaginable to *Ostend*, where we embarked and made sail for *Spithead*. There we lay at Anchor some Time, and during our Continuance, there were several Officers went to *Portsmouth* seemingly good Friends, for there was no Appearance of any Grudge between them. But though they went together, they did not return together. For one was taken into Custody for depriving the Queen of one of her Subjects. Thus there were two prevented from being of any Service to their Queen or Country. For the Lieutenant deprived the Quarter-master of his Life, and the Goal was the Lieutenant's Portion. So far they were divided from having the Pleasure of going along with us, under the Command of Brigadier *Hill* and Admiral *Walker*, upon the Expedition to *New England*.

Orders were given to make the swiftest Sail imaginable, and accordingly we did, having a fine Gale of Wind. We soon got out to Sea, but we had not sooner got into the Ocean than the Seas began to swell prodigiously, which occasioned every one of our Men on board to be Sea-sick. That created me Employment enough, they not being able to help themselves. I did

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what I could to bring them out of that deplorable Condition, for I got them upon Deck, in order that they might receive the Benefit of the fresh Air. Then I would comb their Heads as a Mother doth her Children's. That was my daily Employment, till such time as they all got well, and my so doing kept them from Vermin. I was greatly commended for my Care and Diligence towards them, and by that Means I gained the Love of all the Men, and had them as much at my Beck, as possible a Master can his Servant. For they observed my Motions and gave true Attention to every Thing I said or did, so that I taught them to be pretty good Sailors, before we had the Happiness of reaching *New England*.

We were but seven Weeks and odd Days before we arrived, and had fine sailing which made it an agreeable Passage. When we came there we made sail up the River, and at our Appearance there was a Signal from the Castle, and I verily believe they imagined their Enemy was coming upon them, but it proved to be their Friends. For I heard there were all the Precautions imaginable taken for their Defence, thinking it was as I have mentioned, but finding it otherwise there were Acclamations of Joy, and Brigadier *Hill* and Admiral *Walker* were conducted by their Troops into the Town, and congratulated upon their safe Arrival.

After some time there was a Council of War held by the Brigadier and Admiral, and it was agreed on by their judicious Judgment, that all
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our Forces on board the Fleet should land in order to encamp upon *Rhode* Island, which is opposite to *Boston*. Accordingly we did, and I don't think there is a Possibility for Mankind to live in Camp more happily than we did, during the time of our Continuance at the said Camp, which was five Weeks. For we had plenty of Provision, that refreshed us and rendered us capable of doing good Execution if it had fallen in our Way; likewise the Country People would come a great many Miles, in order to see their old Countrymen, as they called us, and we were regaled by them, and entertained most plentifully with Wine and Cyder, and every thing that was sufficient to make us happy. That was a great Help to such a Body of Men, which consisted of seven Regiments of Foot, *viz.* *Kirk's*, *Seymour's*, *Hill's*, *Disney's*, *Windress's*, *Clayton's* and *Kaine's*, and accompany'd with a Battalion of Marines, commanded by Colonel *Churchill*. I remember we were all reviewed by General *Hill*, and being drawn up in Form of Battle, we made a beautiful Appearance, and I don't believe the like thereof was ever seen in those Parts before; for they all seemed Strangers to our Genius, and surpris'd at our Dexterity. We were greatly applauded for our Behaviour by all the Officers in general.

Some time after, the *Indian* King came in order to take a View of us, and we all should have liked to have had a full View of him, but to prevent our Curiosity, he had a Vail that covered his Face, and his Secretary was painted

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with Reddle, and had a Crow-Quill stuck in his Hair bare headed. I thought they made but a very shocking Appearance. As soon as he passed our Regiment, our Orders were to follow him along the Line, and our Officers by way of Compliment went Front and Rear with him. That gave the *Indian King* a great deal of Satisfaction, and the Sight of him pleased us much.

During our Continuance at the said Camp I frequently used to take a Walk once a Day, but could not see any thing worth my Observation. Their chief Buildings are of Wood, and in the Island there were Houses erected on purpose for the sick and wounded Men and Women belonging to their Army. I told the People that I greatly approved of that Method, and sometimes the People would ask me to take a Walk with them, by way of Recreation. For my part I received a great deal of Civility. Most of them took me to their Houses, and seemingly liked my Conversation well. They told me that sometimes it was very dangerous sailing with Ships in that Part of the World; as they had great Fogs; and that there had been Instances of Ships being lost at those Times; that generally in the Winter the River between *Boston* and *Rhode Island* is frozen up. That put me in Mind that we should not continue long there.

I remember before we left that Place Major *Allen* was concerned in some victualling, for the Preservation of our Lives, in case we should be any ways detained by the Weather. For
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Men can't be too careful in those Seas, where they are daily liable to Misfortunes. The Reader will find I know it by Experience; for after our Forces were returned to their respective Ships, and all Preparation made for our sailing, I remember well the Captain of the *Content* came on board our Ship the *Globe*, and went to the Major and told him that he was hard put to it for Hands. I being the first that the Question was put to, *whether I was willing to go or not*, answered, *with all my Heart*. So I went down for my Arms and Accoutrements, in order to hold myself in Readiness. In the mean time, the Captain went on board another Ship, in order to get two or three more, and in his Absence there came a Captain of the *Barbadoes* Brigantine on board our Ship, and went to the Major, and told him that Necessity obliged him to ask this Favour, hoping that he would be so kind to grant his Request, for he was put to his Shifts for want of Hands to work the Vessel. Our Major reply'd, that he had none that would be of any Service to him, excepting that Corporal, and he is going on board the *Content*. With that he leaned over the Quarter-Deck, and fixed his Eyes upon me. I was very attentive to what had been said, though seemingly took no Notice of it, till I heard a Voice call me by my Name. Upon hearing that, I answered, *Sir, your Pleasure*. He told me, *his Pleasure was to have me along with him*. I answered, *it was equal to me whom I went with*, and, *if you think I can be of any Service,*

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I am ready to attend you as soon as another. With that he desired I would walk up. I readily went, and he met me with a large Glass of Wine in his Hand, which is the only thing in the World to induce a Man to be compliable. After this kind Reception, he told me I might expect a great deal of Civility from him, and he would give me ten Shillings per Week. Now had he said less and performed more, it would have been most agreeable. But he was one of those that would fly from Justice, after his Turn was served. Such Persons Words should not be looked upon, any more than as a Blast of Wind that comes from you know not where. Yet I can't any ways complain of his Civility while I was on Board and in Action. But he did not requite me for my Ingenuity.

After I went on board the *Barbadoes* Brigantine we sailed along with the Fleet, and when we were out at Sea we employed ourselves in catching Cods. The Captain being a polite Man supplied most of the Fleet with Fish. I frequently went in a Boat to divert myself with Fishing, and one Day as we were near the Seashore, I saw the new *English* Troops at Exercise. I was very desirous of going to see their Method. Accordingly I did, and when I came to them, I found it was very different from ours. After they had gone through their Exercise, I desired to shew them ours, and I went through it with as much Life and Vigour as a Man can do, and it pleased their Officers to a high Degree, so that they treated me with what Wine I could

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drink. They told me that there was a Man to be shot in the Governor's Island, and before we quitted the Country, there were Men appointed to go on Shore, upon the Execution Party. It is not in my Memory what Regiment they belonged to, being blown about with the Wind, which created me Employment enough till we put into *Gaspe Bay*. Here we waited till such time as the Transports and other Ships came up, though we apprehended some of them might be blown to Leeward. But after we got all together we proceeded up part of the River of *Canada*, in order to go to *Quebeck*, but we were prevented by Fogs. I could not see the least Appearance of a House, nothing but Woods from *Gaspe Bay*. It is upon the same Continent with *New England*.

Our Proceedings were not very successful. As we got into a prodigious thick Fog and the Wind began to blow, our whole Fleet began to think themselves in a very dangerous Situation, having no Sounding nor Sight of Land; to steer to any Coast. We were in a deplorable Condition, and I remember our Vessel over-ran the Fleet before we had the Misfortune at the Gulf of *St. Laurence* to lose our Main-top-mast; which was the Occasion of our not being so expeditious as we could have wished. But we made all the Sail we could after the Fleet. The Wind continued blowing very hard, and the Seas were very rough, so that we over-ran them again; but as good Fortune would have it our Admiral gave us a Signal by the Mouth of a

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Cannon, and we concluded it was to lye by, or bring to, therefore we pulled in our Sails, and lowered our Yard, and laid as snug as possibly we could.

To our thinking we thought ourselves very secure from Danger; but it had like to have proved the reverse, for we were just on the Brink of Destruction; it being so excessively dark, that we could not distinguish the dangerous nor hazardous Situation we were in, for some Time. It was my turn to have the first Sleep, after lying by; therefore I went and laid myself down, though it was not long before the Watch came upon the Quarter-Deck, and told the Captain that there was a Ship upon the Larboard Bow. I hearing that jumped up in a Moment, and put my Glas before my Eyes and could discern that it was Rocks. With that I called every Soul up and told them they must work for their Lives. I had got them all upon Deck in a short Time, though we were but nine in Number, and went through a great Fatigue the Day before. But when a Man is working for his Life, it is not to be conceived what he can do. The Captain finding what a deplorable Condition we had like to have been in, by heaving the Lead found us to be but three Fathom Water, therefore he commanded us to hoist our Fore-yard. I finding that was but of little or no Signification, as we did not seem to gain Ground at all, and knowing those were not times to delay, was determined with a full Resolution to turn Commander

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mander myself, and if I had not we should have been upon the Breakers in a short Time. I prevented it by the Help of God, though I must needs say the Captain was very condescending to what I proposed. *Sir, I said, I beg for God's Sake you will go to the Helm, and be steady, otherwise we shall all be lost.* The Sea was prodigious rough, and the Waves broke and displayed themselves over the Vessel that we expected every Moment to be a Wreck—Now the Captain was so discreet as to mind what I said, knowing that I was a competent Judge of the working Part. After the Captain was at the Helm, I said to the Men, *Come, my Boys, we have one more Stroke for our Lives, therefore don't let your Courage fail you, but observe what I say, and hoist the Fore-stay-sail.* We did it with all the Expedition imaginable, and I could perceive it would have it's Effect, by it's leaning to Starboard. Then we heaved the Lead, and it was five Fathom Water. That created a little Hope. Then I said, *Gentlemen, you have nothing to do but to mind the Lead.* Then we got another Fathom. *I still was encouraging our Men, by saying this will do, if we increase every Draught.* Then we heaved it again and we were nine Fathom Water, that animated them all to such a Degree, that it was like fetching the Dead to Life again. The Captain and the Men congratulated each other upon their good Fortune, of having such a Man as me on board. When I found we were safe from Danger, I went to the Captain, and said,
Sir,

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Sir, since you have been so good as submit to my Resolution, it has saved your Souls alive. He said, I own it from my Heart, and I shall always acknowledge it was through you only. I said, No Sir I ask pardon, it was through the Providence of God that knows all Men's Hearts; for my own part I am not capable of thinking a good Thought, much more doing a good Action, without the supreme Governor of all Things. I found that the Captain was a Stranger to such Conversation, therefore I refrained talking any longer. As he found we rode safe, he gave every Man a Pint of Rum. There was need enough of it, for had we been cast over-board, we could not have been wetter. Therefore I said, Noble Captain, this is the time for Refreshment, after completing so great a Work. I little thought that we should ever have been saved, but now I am in great Hopes.

After we had regaled ourselves, with the best the Ship would afford, the Day began to break, and the Clouds dispersed themselves, so that we could distinguish our Fleet at a great distance, likewise we began to look about and we saw the Wrecks of several Transports upon the North Shore. Thus we found ourselves in a more dangerous Situation than we imagined, for there were nothing but Rocks and Islands, and I was surpris'd our whole Fleet was not lost. Though it was more by the Providence of God, than the good Conduct of the Pilots. Seeing several in Distress, we made for them in order to see if we could save any of their Lives, and when we came near

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near them, we found they had gone through a very dismal Operation. But we preserved whom we could alive, though we ran great Hazards in order to get to them. I found the *Content* was lost and all her Crew, that Ship I was appointed to go in. There was likewise the *Smyrna Merchant* with a great many Officers on board her, sixteen Women and four or five Children, and they all shared the same Fate, by the destructive Seas.

As soon as we had done what Service we could, we made the best sail we could after the Fleet; but found they were not sailing from us, and only moved backward and forwards till such time as they got what they could from Shore. I must needs own our Fleet in general shewed a great deal of Humanity, for they stayed two or three Days about that Part, and sent their Boats so long, that there was no Appearance of any living Soul left behind; but a great many dead Bodies floating about, which was a very shocking Sight. Then there was a Consultation held amongst the Officers, and at last they were determined to go to some Bay or Harbour, where they could ride safe, for there was a great Consternation amongst them, fearing they should meet with such like Disaster again, which would not be altogether agreeable after so great a Fatigue. Therefore we made the best sail we could to the *Spanish River*, where we anchored, though it was agreed on by the Officers of the small Vessels to proceed forward up the River, in order that we might
water.

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water. When we came to a Place fitting for that purpose, we went on shore and got some extremely good Water, and when we had got sufficient Supply of it we got some Wood on board.

The Captain loved to employ us, if he could get any thing for his Advantage, for which he was to be commended. Then I said, *Sir, this will compensate for our past Trouble.* He made no Answer to that, only he was very desirous of taking me with him, wherever he went. He told me that he intended to go on board of a Sloop, and that I should go along with him. Here, in the way of Discourse, he told the Captain of the Sloop, had it not been for me he certainly should have been cast away. The Captain of the Sloop desired to know by what Means I preserved him. Then the Captain described the Particulars, and by so doing created a great deal of Pleasure between them. Then I was called and they desired I would sit down, and drink a Glass of Wine with them. I thought that was something very extraordinary, which occasioned me to say, *Gentlemen, is it from a due Regard, or for your own Interest, that you grant me this Favour.* That put them to a stand, not knowing whom they had to deal with. But I moderated the Thing, by saying, *If your Goodness would be pleased to bequeath to me a Bottle, that I may drink with my Brother Sailors, it will be most agreeable to you, and more to my Satisfaction.* With that my Captain said, *If I did not like you for a Companion, I should*

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I should not have brought you along with me. That obliged me to be conformable.

After a long Conference the Captain of the Sloop told me, if I would go along with him he would make my Wages worth six Pounds a Month. That was Inducement enough for a Man, that had no Thought for any but himself, but all he could say, could not prevail upon me to leave my Regiment. I asked 'him, *what Part of the World he was going to steer for.* He said, *to the West-Indies.* I answered, *Sir, was I a Sailor only, I don't know what I could purpose better, but as I am engaged in the Land Service, it will be very imprudent for me to think of any such Thing, especially without the Approbation of my Officers.* Gentlemen, you certainly take me for a mad Man or a Fool, or you would not ask me any such Thing. No I shall never decline acting justly, for the Lucre of Money. For what would all the Money in the World have been to this Man, who was just at the Brink of Destruction; and I very believe that he would have given all that he had in the World to have brought him out of that hazardous Situation. I am surpris'd how a Man can be guilty of any Injustice, when he is daily liable to Misfortunes. If they have no Remorse of Conscience in them they have not my feeling. Finding how I was disposed they dropt that Subject. As they were intimate Acquaintance, their View was only to induce me to go along with him, which I did not approve of, but grew very impatient before I had the Pleasure of going back to our own Vessel. When I

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went on Board of our own Vessel, I told the Captain, that he would not get me out of it again, except the Fleet had a Mind to take me on Board them, and that I had no Notion of any Man's persuading me against my own Inclination. The Captain made Answer, that he did it purely to serve me, but begged that I would not take any Notice to any one about it. No, Sir, I will give you my Word upon it, that I shall never be guilty of Infamy of any Kind, unless there is an absolute Necessity for so doing.

Upon those Words we returned to the Fleet. The Admiral thought proper to call a Council of War, in which it was agreed, both by the Land and Sea Officers, that the Navigation in that Part of the World was very dangerous, and that there was no Dependence for a sufficient Supply of Provision from *New England*, especially at that Time of the Year, and having no more than ten Weeks Provision for the Fleet and Army, it was unanimously agreed on, to return to *Old England* again, without making any further Attempts: So ended our Expedition to *Quebeck*: Though had we not had extremely bad Weather, and insuperable Difficulties attending us daily, there was some Likelihood of our accomplishing our Design. For we were under the Conduct of so experienced Officers, that it would have been morally impossible for the Enemy to have prevented the Success of that Enterprize. Therefore I would not have the World think there was any Neglect of any Kind. So far from that, it was attending-

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tended with all the Care imaginable; nay, all the Art of Men could not devise a more promising Scheme: For there was not one Officer but what was capable of performing every Thing he undertook. So their not having Success ought not in the least to stain their Character; nor no one in Justice can say there was any ill Conduct from our first setting out to the Day we returned from the *Spanish* River.

From thence General *Hill* sent forward Colonel *Clayton* with an Express to Court, and we made Sail after him in a short Time, and had an extremely good Passage to *Portsmouth*, and were almost got to *Port Bridge* when the *Edgar* Man of War was blown up, which was a very unfortunate Thing, after wading through those hazardous Seas that we had just arrived from.

So far I have inserted all I know of that Expedition; though I was not in the least recompensed for the Trouble and Care I had been at. It was the Captain's voluntary Offer to give me ten Shillings per Week, but I found the Captain had more Want for Money than me; therefore my Nature would not let me insist upon having my Right, but I relinquished it as voluntarily as he offered it, without importuning once for it. Only when I took my Leave of the Captain, I desired *he would remember the Rocks never to go near them again.* He made Answer, *I may thank you for your Resolution, or I should never have been able to have gone there, or any where else.* That was some Kind of Acknowledgment,

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ledgment, and it pleased me as well as if he had given me my Dividend; though three or four Pounds was Money to a Man that wanted it. But if Money could make a Man happy, I had what I could wish for. But at that Time I must be like the polite Part of the World, or young Men that give Way to Extravagance; though now I find the Effects of the Gayety of my Youth.

When we left *Portsmouth* we marched down for *Shrewsbury*, the Place appointed for our Winter Quarters. On the Road we were all as jovial as it was possible Men could be, and I was as well attended by all the Tapsters and Drawers upon the Road, as a private Gentleman can possibly be upon a Journey. I would have the Reader think that nothing will induce them to attend but a good Benefactor, and that was not wanting wherever I went. I had not been at *Shrewsbury* above a Week, before the People in general shewed me as much Reverence as any Officer belonging to the Regiment; and they did not decline their awful Respect so long as we continued there, which was till Spring. So I make my Conclusion for this Year, and will proceed to all I know of the next.

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C H A P. XXVII.

The Author's Desire to be employed again: His Account of the Behaviour of his present Majesty in the late War in Flanders: Embarks for Dunkirk: Mutiny there: The Author returns to England, and is discharged.

IN 1712, we left *Shrewsbury*, and returned to *Portsmouth*, where we stayed so long, that I was almost tired of my Situation, not knowing how to employ my idle Hours better than to draw up the Scene of War in my Mind, which I was daily thinking on, and endeavouring to draw Advantage from a serious and attentive Reflection on my past Transactions. Had the War continued a little longer, this would have enabled me to have turned out a complete Warrior, which was all I wished for. For it would have been a Means to give me an Opportunity to make up what I found myself deficient in, and it will at this Time animate my Soul if I may be accepted on to face the *French* once more. I appeal to the World whether I am not worthy of that Honour. Let the profound experienced Man judiciously make Trial, according to his Will and Pleasure; for I am willing to submit, let it be in the lowest Sphere of all, and would gladly spend the rest of my Fortune to be of Service to his most excellent Majesty, knowing all that a Subject is capable of performing is due to him; and I wish I was

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able to find Terms sufficient to represent to the World in a true Light his youthful Performance.

For Instance, at the Battle of *Oudenard*, his Majesty behaved incomparably well: I remember him at the Head of a Squadron of his Father's Forces, when the *French* Household Troops were bearing down upon him, with such Courage and Conduct, as were surprising in so young a Prince. His Royal Person was exposed to as much Danger as a common Soldier. There needs no rhetorical Ornament, but an exact Narration of Facts to explain his Conduct: Therefore I think there is a Duty incumbent upon all his Subjects to do to the utmost of their Ability to serve him; for my Part I shall always be ready at the Word of Command; but in the mean Time I'll make an End of all my Performances.

In the Queen's Reign, when we left *Portsmouth*, we made the best of our Way to *Gravesend*, in order to embark for *Dunkirk*. I remember before our Embarkation, there was a great deal of Contention amongst those Regiments that went upon the Descent for *Canada* along with us. I was very desirous of knowing their Grievances, and soon informed myself, that their Disputes arose from being deprived of their Pay, during the Time of their Continuance on Ship-Board. But as for our Regiment it did not discompose them, for our Officers promised all the Men in general to pay them at their Arrival at *Dunkirk*; and farther, that it

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was better for them than being at the Trouble of exchanging *English* Money into *French*. That prevented Strife that might have happened amongst us, and I thought it very prudently judged of the Officers: For the greatest Part of the private Men would have expended it in Luxury, which would have hurt their Constitutions, and emptied their Pockets before a Time of Need. It is often the Case amongst those mutinous Persons; for there is no Regularity observed by them. So far from that, they will indulge themselves with Superfluities one Day, if they starve the rest of the Week; and when they have embezzled all, pilfer from the rest; and the Consequence of that often is, being tied up to the Halbert, which is not altogether agreeable to their Backs; and yet there are a great Number who will suffer that, before they will be conformable.

Then we failed to take Possession of that large important Place *Dunkirk*, and at our Arrival we failed by the Peer, where the Walls were adorned with a great Number of People, who shewed us some Respect. Our Forces landed and lay along the Beach, till such Time as our Officers had drawn for Quarters. When they had so done, our Guards went off in order to relieve the *French* out of the Forts, which were adorned with *French* Colours flying. At our Appearance they struck, and *English* were hoisted, and the Regiment that I belonged to took Possession of the Citadel, which was our appointed Quarters, and we did Duty in it as our

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own. At that Juncture of Time there were *French* that lay in the Bastion where I did Duty, in order to guard some Men of War they had taken from us, and several other Ships and Gallies. They all did Duty in due Order, for I remember the Slaves were chained in the Gallies every Night. I could perceive there were some Marks of Distinction between them, that they did not endure the Burthen of Links as the poor Slaves did, but were light and easy to their Legs; and another Thing I took Notice of, they had pretty little Huts erected for them; and most of them were very industrious in selling one Thing or other by Way of turning the Penny to a good Use. In the first Place they would make a Kind of Tea. For my Part, I used often to resort there, and drink it in a Morning frequently for Breakfast; and what Money I could well spare they partook of; for I love to encourage Industry, and there was a great deal of that amongst those poor Souls. My Heart ached for their Slavery.

When my Lord *Bolingbrook* came to *Dunkirk*, he received a favourable Reception from the Magistrates. There was a Galley, that lay in the Bason, fitted and manned, in order to divert his Lordship; and the Ships had their Colours flying; the Artillery fired, and in a short Time the Slaves were commanded to row the Galley with all her Formalities, and it was performed in a beautiful Manner. This was the Method they took in order to divert my Lord before he returned to *England*. Some-
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times I was invited on Board the Galley, in order to drink a Bottle of Wine, or Part of a Bowl of Punch, and we had a fine Concert of Musick in the great Cabin. This was the Manner I spent my idle Hours, being like a Fish out of Water, without Employment of some Kind or other. Therefore by Way of Recreation, I took several of our Men aside, in order to give them the true Spirit in exercising. This was a great Task. After I had shewed them a Precedent, they could see their Deficiencies, and were very desirous of learning. And before I was tired of that Employment, the whole Regiment was well versed in that Art. In a short Time therefore the Officers could perceive my Dexterity, and I was taken from doing Duty, being only desired to look over the Men sometimes, and see if there was nothing wanting. I would have the Reader think that I thought it a great Favour, and it was thought by several that I should have been made an Adjutant in a short Time, if the War had continued a little longer. But I was disappointed.

One Thing occasioned a great deal of Contention, though it was intended for our own Good. After the Duke of *Ormonde* had dispersed his whole Army, and separated the *Dutch* Troops from ours, he gave Orders that they might go to their respective Garisons. When his Grace had so done, he returned to *Dunkirk*, and there were great Rejoicings at his Arrival, which pleased him much. Yet there was no Appearance of those warlike Deeds in his Face, that

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there was in that of the brave Duke of Marlborough. However he was applauded for his Generosity in augmenting the Soldiers Pay. He ordered every Sergeant to have Ten-pence, every Corporal Six-pence, and every private Sentinel Four-pence *per Week Entry*; and his positive Orders were, that it might be paid once in two Months, in order to buy them Necessaries in such a Space of Time. This was meant entirely for their Good; but through the Neglect or Instigation of some People, it manifestly appeared to the Eyes of those that would see, that the Consequence would be very bad, if it was not performed according to the Duke's Command. For our Soldiers in those Days were Men of Resolution, and never suffered Imposition of any Kind; but would strenuously exert themselves for their Right. For my Part, I could not discommend them for it, but yet I would not associate with them, but endeavoured to restrain them from the Thoughts of Mutiny or Riots of any Kind. For Example, when two Months were expired, all the Men in general importuned for their extraordinary Allowance, though they did not succeed in the first, nor second, nor third Application. They still were kept in Suspense, till they grew very impatient, and thought there was no Likelihood of ever being paid. Then some came to advise with me about it, and others would say, that they were determined to get it by some Means or other. Therefore said I, *Gentlemen, let Patience be your Guide, and receive my Advice before*

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fore you proceed any further. In the first Place, if our Officers have not Honour enough in them to think it is our just Due, I think it is below our Profession to keep dunning them for it. And farther, if they endeavour to decline what supports Honour, I would look upon them to be no better than myself, though, at the same Time, we are obliged to submit to them. This is the Key that I would recommend to you, for your own Satisfaction and Comfort. In that Manner I conversed with them daily; and I believe it had a little Influence over some, who hearkened to my Discourse; but those that would not, were very strenuous in their Importunities: For I remember, on a Sunday, as I was walking by the Barracks, I saw a Body of Men assembled together, and found their Conversation was about their odd Groats. Therefore I thought it would be prudent in me to go and consult with them. So I observed in this Manner, *Gentlemen, have you no Regard for the Day? Why will you be the Cause of Contention?* They answered me, *They would go and fetch a Regiment out of the Citadel, in order to join them.* I thought it in vain to contend with Men of such Resolutions, therefore I retired and returned to our Regiment, desiring they would not be concerned in the Affair, except they had a Mind to be taken up as Mutineers. I prevailed upon some, but it is with Soldiers as it is with every Thing else; there is no Senate without an Opposition, nor no Party of Men without different Opinions. Therefore some said they would endeavour

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vour to maintain their own Rights, and nothing should obstruct them. So they went and joined with the others, and in about an Hour after, there was a Body of 1600 Men walking along the Streets, and before the Governor's House. The Governor was very desirous of knowing what it meant. They soon informed him, and he desired that every Man would go to his respective Quarters, and he would take Care they should be paid. They all retired with a great deal of Satisfaction, and were paid very shortly.

At that Juncture of Time there was a great Disturbance at *Ghent* amongst the Soldiers, which occasioned some to suffer Death. On hearing that News, I could not contain myself any longer without observing to the first Officer I met with, *Sir, with Submission, what can be the Meaning that all our Garisons are disturbed in this Manner? It is an Instance that never happened during the Time of the Duke of Marlborough. But now Strife is come to such a Head that it is intolerable, and there is no resisting against a popular Tumult, without running into insuperable Dangers.* The Officer replied, *There is no accounting for it; it is unintelligible to me, why there should be this Contention.* Therefore he left me to think of it as I pleased; so I could not help making this Reflection, that it proceeded as much from the ill Conduct of the Officers, as the Imprudence of the Men. Likewise I could not help thinking, that we were very fortunate to have a general Suspension of Arms; for had such like Disasters happened

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pened when we were at War, it would have given the *French* a brave Opportunity to exert themselves, and rendered them capable to have prevented all our Designs. O the Duke of *Marlborough* that gained the Love of all Men, knew better, than to put it in any one's Power to upbraid him; for all his Men in general were obsequious. Now they are become refractory, and neglect their Duty. There were two Men condemned by a Court-Marshal in *Dunkirk*, and they both went to the Place of Execution; but the Duke of *Ormonde*, hearing that one of the two never heard the Articles of War, and being a Recruit, acquitted him, and the other was shot. So far he shewed a small Glimpse of Humanity, though not being acquainted with any more of his Perfections while in that Capacity, I will leave it to others to explain his Excellencies, which I am not apprised of. I must needs own after our Men received their Dividend, and that unlucky Accident was over, all the Men in general were very affable and agreeable during the Time of our Continuance at *Dunkirk*.

In 1713 our Regiment was commanded to *England*, therefore I was under some Apprehensions, that it was not an effectual Peace, which occasioned me to be very unwilling to leave that Part of the World. But having a Wife in *England* it was a great Inducement, otherwise I should have returned to my old Regiment, having a great Desire to see every Thing to an End. Yet I was inwardly grieved,
knowing

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knowing that at that Time we might have clenched a Nail in such a manner, that it would have cured the *French* of ever triumphing over us again. I was like a Fish that is eager to catch at the Bait, but finding it of no Substance declined it and returned to *England*, and landed at *Dover*, and stayed till General *Evans* came and broke our Regiment, which induced me to compose these following Lines,

God and a Soldier Men alike adore,
When at the Brink of Danger, not before;
The Danger past, alike are both requited,
God is forgot, and the brave Soldier slighted.
Learning and Arts, we find the older grown,
The more are revered, gain more Renown;
Why then are Soldiers slighted that have gain'd
Conquest in Fields, and Honours have obtain'd?
Because grown old, must Valour be neglected,
And all past Services be quite rejected?
Encouragement makes young, and 'twill appear,
In midst of Dangers we're too old to fear.

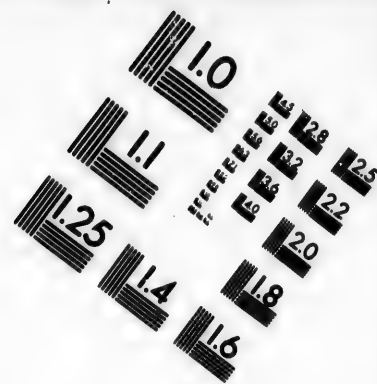
C H A P. XXVIII.

*The Author finds his Wife married to another
Husband: Her sudden Death and Epitaph:*

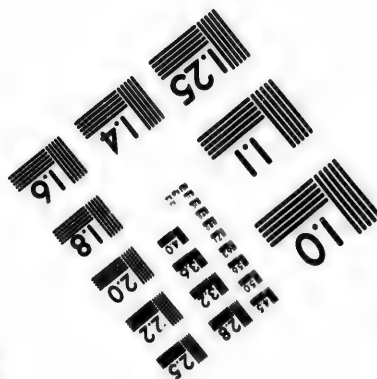
AFTER our general Discharge at *Dover*,
I parted with my Companions, and
made all the haste imaginable to a Place called
Harrison in *Kent*, in order to see my Uncle be-
fore I went to see my Wife, whom I expected
to

to have found in *Oxfordshire*. But I was disappointed. As soon as I appeared before my Uncle, he said, *Nephew, I am overjoyed to see you, but am sorry Things are as they are. In the first place, I am sorry you have been so negligent as to neglect sending to your Wife these three or four Years. I am afraid it will be an Instrument of one or both your Destructions.* I grew very impatient to know what he meant, but he kept me in Suspence for a considerable Time, though I was continually importuning to know. He sometimes said he was afraid to reveal it to me. At that Reply, I said, *Dear Sir, I hope you will not conceal any thing that may be destructive to me or my Wife.* He made answer, that he did not intend to conceal it, neither could he; but should be glad if he could make up the Difference that subsisted between us. That put me in so great an Agony, that I was not able to contain myself. He perceived how I was tormented in my Mind, therefore said, *I would not have you to grieve nor perplex yourself; but if you will promise me to impute it to your own Neglect, I will tell you.* I said, *without all doubt I shall if it is so.* Well, said he, don't you remember that you have been absent from your Wife almost six Years, and she has received but three Letters from you. Now that Neglect, and the Instigation of some People has induced her to marry another Husband. It was entirely without my Consent, for I certified to them that you was alive and well. But I found nothing would restrain her Friends from thinking otherwise,





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wife, and they produced two Soldiers, one said that he helped to put you into the Ground, and the other stood by. They made Affidavit of this, and that you was buried upon St. Peter's Hill in Ghent. By that Means they prevailed upon your Dear Wife to marry a Man, by whom she has conceived! O Sir, O Sir, my Burthen is more than I can bear: What must I do to lighten it? Cousin, replied he, there should nothing but Patience be admitted, in such Cases as those. Had she continued with your Mother this Thing might not have happened; her coming to see her Grandfather a little before he died, was a designed Thing, that he might leave what he had to one who has deprived you of some Thousands; for he has all the Gaiety that a young Man can have. He has kept his Hounds and his Hunters since the old Man died, which has been the occasion of his expending some of the Principal. Sir, pardon me, did you acquaint the old Man that I was alive? Sir, as I told you before, I was against it and did what lay in my Power to prevent it's taking Effect; but they did not regard my Remonstrances, and credited the false Report of your Death, and persisted it was so. I could do no more if it had been for my own Child! Well, Sir, I have another Favour to ask of you; had she any Child by me? He replied, a pretty Boy, but the Child has been taken off of his Legs these twelve Months, but she is prodigiously fond of it, and says that it is the Picture of his Father, and that she would endeavour to raise it for his Sake. Sir, said I, that denotes Love which shocks my Soul, and I find

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find that it was through the Instigation of that diabolical Spirit, that she was induced to marry this Man. Yet I own myself in a Fault, for not writing; but as she knew my Resolution and my whole Intention, she might have had Patience and defer'd it till the War had been over. But yet, I don't impute it to her own Nature, but the Nature of that devilish Spirit who prevailed upon Eve. It is plain my Wife has condescended to his Persuasions, at the same time insensible of the Effects of him. But Sir, I am impatient to see her; therefore I beg you will favour me with your Company, for to Morrow Morning I am determined to go and claim her as my own, and if I should meet with any Resistance from the Gentleman, I'll change my Glove with him, in order to find out his Qualifications; and I don't doubt but this successful Arm will give the fatal Blow. Dear Cousin, said he, don't be so rash, but do Things discreetly. Consider that she is big with Child, and that it will be an Act of Imprudence to put her in a Surprise. There have been Instances of Things of that kind being prodigious hurtful, especially if she had a Veneration for you. Therefore be advised by me to take this Method. ' I intend to accompany you to Chatham, but I would advise you to seem an intire ' Stranger, and not forward of coming into the ' House, till such time as I call you in; and take ' this Wig and put over your Hair, by way of ' a Disguise; and when I am with her I shall ' only signify to her that there is a Man at the ' Door, that knew her Husband full well, and ' is

' is extremely sorry to hear of his Death, and
' ask if she has a Mind to talk to you about him.
' But when you enter the House, take no more
' Notice than if you had never seen her. I
' don't doubt but what you'll soon find, if she
' has any Idea of your Person.' Sir, I greatly
approve of your Method, and shall always take
all the Care imaginable to perfect what you have
observed.

So it was unanimously agreed on to go in the Morning. But the Reader will find, after my Uncle and I had taken all the Care imaginable to prevent any Suspicion of me, it had but little Effect, for the Moment I entered her House I could perceive her Countenance change, and I had not spoke above three Words, before she said, *it is my Husband*, and swooned away. Now the pretended Husband imagined it was he she spoke of. But he found it the reverse; for as soon as she revived a little, she shewed he was her utter Aversion; nay she could not endure him in her Sight. Nor could I endure the House, or see what Agonies she was in, which demonstrated her Sincerity. Now the perfidious Person could not tell the Meaning of it, till I came in about an Hour after and revealed it to him. Upon that, he fell into a violent Rage, and called me a Scoundrel. That obliged me to speak. Sir, said I, *If you are a Gentleman don't behave with such Imprudence, consider my Wife is big with Child by you, and I am afraid she is dangerously ill.* He still persisted with his Abuses, while I was as cool as a Lamb. And

only said, *Are you not ashamed of your scurrilous Language to a Man of my Trade; do you think to bully me? No, it is not Words that I mind from such a Man as you. Farther, I beg you will cease your Noise or I shall insist upon it.* My Uncle begged for God's Sake he would have Patience; that my Wife was extremely ill and incapable of giving a rational answer, therefore I sent for an Apothecary, and when he came he told us, that she would certainly miscarry, and that it was ten to one if she did not lose her Life. That shocked my very Soul, so that I was not able to contain myself. My Uncle sent for a Midwife, and she had all the Attendance imaginable, but nothing would do as the Jaws of Death had taken Hold of her, for she continued in that deplorable Condition three Days, and then expired. But from the Hour that it happened, to half an Hour before she gave up the Ghost, her Senses were almost lost. Yet just before her Glass was run, she said, *my Dear, forgive me and all is well.* Then she closed up her Eyes, and went off like a Lamb.

I could not help bewailing my unhappy Fate, and wishing I had never been born; as I was the Occasion of her Death. How can I account for this, though there was no Ill meant by me? as I heartily took the Advice of my Uncle, it can't be said, that I was accessary to her Death. Therefore I thought it would be prudent to observe to the pretended Husband in this manner: *Sir, can't you perceive that my Disappointment is greater than yours; if you can't, I will explain*

explain it to you. ' I am deprived of all that is
 ' dear to me in the World, and you are only
 ' disappointed of an Infant, that is concealed
 ' in her Womb, which I am heartily sorry
 ' she did not discharge before Death seized
 ' her.' In answer to that he replied, *You*
notorious Villian, what harm has my Offspring
done her. Sir, replied I in plain Terms, *it*
has been the Occasion of her Death, and I will
suffer myself to share the same Fate, before I will
receive any more of your Abuses. With that he
 retired like one confused, without making me
 an Answer, and I could never get into his Com-
 pany to converse with him after that: There-
 fore I was obliged to get my Uncle to concert
 with him about his Affairs; but finding every
 thing was settled in such a manner, that I could
 not partake, unless the old Man had been living,
 I told my Uncle, ' I could not endure the Town
 ' any longer, after my Wife was put into the
 ' Earth. Besides the People will observe as I
 ' walk along the Streets, *look do you see how the*
 ' *dead Man walks* ; this will add to my Grief,
 ' and render me incapable of any Thing, but
 ' to bemoan my unhappy Fate. Therefore I
 ' must flee elsewhere for Refuge, to my own
 ' Country where they are not acquainted with
 ' what has befallen me. The Thing repeated,
 ' still renews my Pain.' So after her Burial I
 made all the Preparations I could in order to go
 to the Place of my Nativity, and ever after I
 declined mentioning this to any one, till now
 that I reveal it to the World. Though I left
 I these

these following Lines behind me, as an Epitaph. Then I took my little Boy, and made the best of my way to *Deddington* in *Oxfordshire*, and my Uncle parted from me with the Word Adieu.

E P I T A P H.

Unhappy Woman by Relations led,
Thou innocently didst corrupt my Bed.
Theirs was the Crime, to them shall be my Hate,
While I lament with Tears thy wretched Fate.
Thy precious Life did for thy Fault atone,
But leaves in Sorrow me your Loss to moan.

When I arrived at the Place of my Nativity, the Thoughts of being deprived of my Wife, my intended Comfort, rendered me unfit to think of a Settlement; nay I was incapable of enjoying one Night's Rest, and nothing that could be proposed could satisfy me; but I was daily lamenting my wretched Case, blaming myself for returning to *England*. I wished there might have been a perpetual War, to have retained me from ever seeing the Face of this Isle again. But one Day as I was walking in a disconsolate manner several Reflections occurred to me, which were as follow: 'Why should I bewail myself for what I cannot retrieve; or why should I wish to be abroad when there is nothing in Agitation, knowing that my Nature is strenuously inclined never to be easy any longer than I am in Action?' This induced me to compose the following Lines, which were a

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kind of Recreation as well as Amusement, and a Means to drive away the Thoughts of my Wife. But I shall only give the World an Abstract of them, hoping it will not discompose the Reader.

In the first place, I will bring down the imaginary Soldier to the Rank of Indignity, knowing they are unworthy of what they imagine they are. For Example, Soldiers of late Years have been like unto Children, whom their Masters have prevailed upon to learn the Horn Book. As the Child imagined when he had learned the Criss-Cross-Row, that he was a complete Scholar; so the Soldier fancies when he has learnt his Exercise, that he is in the Rank of brave Soldiers, and will swagger about as such. But to convince them, comparatively speaking, they most resemble a Child that has just learned the Criss-Cross-Row, and are not sensible of their Ignorance till they arrive to the Honour of going upon Service, (they shewed us a Specimen of it, at the Battle of *Dettingen*).

But next I shall shew the World, as far as my Capacity will allow me, the true Character of an honourable Soldier; knowing their Function to be worthy of more than I can express. And I hope it will be of use to the Commonalty of Mankind, more especially at this critical Juncture. First, God is pleased to carry the Name of a Soldier, God is a Man of War, saith *Moses*, *Exodus* xv. 3. and the Son of God professed himself to be a Captain of the Lord's Host, *Joshua* iii. 14, 15. Secondly, the most renowned

ed in Holy Writ, and human Stories, have attained to great Fame by their valiant Acts and Feats of Arms, as we may see in *Joshua, Gideon, Ebul, Barak, Sampson, David* and his Warriors. What Speeches are made of the nine Worthies, of *Joshua, David, Judas Maccabeus*, for their Valour and Victory in Battle? By Fame the Memory of *Julius Caesar, Alexander the Great, Pyrrhus, Themistocles, Scipio, Hannibal, Scanderbeg* and *Charles the fifth*, remains immortal, and innumerable others both in prophane and divine Story. Thirdly, whence came all these greatly affected Titles now in the World? Rose they not from Valour, Prowess, military Employments, and Exercise of Arms? Whence came Esquires but by being Armigers or Armor-bearers? Whence came the Knights of old, not by scraping of Wealth and buying of Titles, but by being Soldiers? Whence came Noblemen, Earls, Dukes? Nay the highest Rank of Dignity, an Emperor; but from Honour bestowed upon him in the Field by Reason he knew how to command a Host of Men? Fourthly, *Solomon*, the wisest of Kings that ever was, held such as were Men of War to be more honourable than to employ them in servile Work. Such as he employed in that Service were Strangers, 2 *Chron.* ix. and the People of *Canaan, the Hittites, Amorites, Perizzites, Hivites* and *Jebusites*; and farther I shall give the Reader Quotations from the Scripture Records, by way of convincing part of the World that War upon a just Cause is undoubtedly law-

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ful, though it may be contrary to the Opinion of some; and I was induced to transcribe these following Lines, knowing that there is nothing can give a greater Encouragement in Action, than to have Conscience satisfied in the Lawfulness thereof. In the first Place, I hope all the World may be of this Opinion, that God never admitted of a Title of a Thing unlawfully, *Exodus xv.* 'Therefore I will sing unto the Lord, for he has triumphed gloriously; the Horse and his Rider hath he thrown into the Sea. The Lord is my Strength and Song, and he is become my Salvation; he is my God and I will prepare him an Habitation, my Father's God and I will exalt him. The Lord is a Man of War, the Lord is his Name. Thy right Hand, O Lord, hath dashed in Pieces the Enemy. Thou in thy Mercy hast led forth the People which thou hast redeemed, thou hast guided them in thy Strength unto thy Holy Habitation. The People shall hear and be afraid, Sorrow shall take hold on the Inhabitants of *Palestine*. The Duke of *Edom* shall be amazed and mighty Men tremble, the Lord shall reign for ever, and ever.' Secondly, he has given Commands to his People to fight, he made Laws for Directions to them when they went to War. God sent his Spirit upon them, to encourage them; as in *Gideon*, *Sampson*, &c. You may read it in the Book of *Judges*, and in *1 Sam. v. 2, 24. Numbers xxxi. 3.* God raised up some Prophets to comfort and set forward his People to war, *Moses* speaks unto the People, 'Arm some of yourselves unto the War, and

let them go against the *Midianites* and avenge the Lord in *Midian*. The Children of *Israel* came to *Deborah* the Prophetess for Judgment, and she sent and called *Barack* and said unto him, 'Hath not the Lord God of *Israel* commanded saying; go and draw towards Mount *Taber*, and take with thee ten thousand Men.' 2 *Chron.* xx. 14. 'Then upon *Jabaziel* came the Spirit of the Lord in the midst of the Congregation, and he said, Harken ye all *Judah*, and ye Inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, and thou King *Jeboshaphat*, Thus saith the Lord unto you, be not afraid nor dismay'd by reason of this great Multitude, for the Battle is not yours, but God's. Ye shall not need to fight in this Battle, stand ye still and see the Salvation of the Lord with you; fear not, for the Lord will be with you.' So far I have given the Reader a Specimen of the old Testament. Now I will proceed forward and explain the Opinion of the New, where the Reader will say that it is otherwise, for his infinite Majesty is in it but once or twice called the Lord of Host, *James* v. 4. more often the God of Peace. It is true that all Men should seek Peace, and pursue after it as a Blessing of God; yet just and necessary War is not to be condemned. St. *Ambrose* saith it is part of Justice by War to defend our Country and Confederates, and such as need Aid from Spoilers and Oppressors, neither doth the new Testament disallow of it, *Matth.* xxiv. 'For Nations shall rise against Nations, and Kingdoms against Kingdoms, and ye shall hear of

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Wars and Rumors of Wars, see that ye be not troubled for all these Things will come to pass. So it transparently appears that War was not disallowed of, so it be just. Our Prince of Peace tells us of War, *Rev. xix.* and is pleased to be set out ' as Captain of an Host riding on Horseback, and he was called Faithful and True, and in Righteousness he doth judge and make War, and his Army followed him upon white Horses and subduing his Enemies.' This sheweth that his Church shall have Wars, and he will take their Parts. *Cornelius* was a Captain and Soldier, that feared God and waited on him, *Acts x.* and the Lord, in calling the Gentiles to the Gospel, made choice to begin with Calling him. With a good Conscience then, we may take up Arms when there is no Safety but in Arms. We must know God taketh not away the Law of Nature, to defend ourselves by forcible Means against violent Enemies: God hath now appointed Kings to use the Sword. Base People were not worthy to be Men of War, their Function was not honourable enough to be enrolled among the honourable Men worthy of the Name of a Soldier if the worth of a true Soldier were well weighed. Where God conducts the Generals of an Army and inspirits the Soldiers, they march with Glory and carry Terror wherever they go. ' Wisdom and Strength are his,' *Job xii. 13.* ' The Battle is not always to the Strong, *Ecc. ix. 11.* God taught *David* to play the part of a valiant Captain and Soldier, he made his Hands to war and his Fingers to fight, and made his

Arm strong : Therefore he said, ' Thou hast girded me with thy Strength unto the Battle, and have subdued those that rose up against me,' for which *David* rendered Thanks to him, *Psal. xviii. 39.* Now I would have the Reader give true Attention to what this valiant King said, ' The Lord is my Fortrefs and Deliverer, my Strength and Buckler, my high Tower and Salvation, ver. 2. and further he gratefully acknowledges, that the great God was the Cause of all that Courage and Strength that he had, likewise that his inestimable Goodness was the Giver of all Victories which attended his Army. *David* from a Shepherd came to be a King over *Israel*; *Jephtha*, though of base Birth, yet by his Valour became a Judge in *Israel*; *Isocrates*, the *Athenian*, who was Lieutenant to *Artaxerxes*, was a Cobler's Son; *Eumenes*, one of *Alexander's* Captains, was a Carter's Son; *Servius Tullius*, who triumphed three times, was no better than the Son of a poor Servant; *Dioclesian*, though a bloody Persecutor of the Christians, yet a valiant Man, obtained the Empire by his Prowess and Valour, and was but a Scrivener's Son; *Nicholas Picbinnion*, the great Commander of the Armies of the Potentates in *Italy*, was but a Butcher's Son; the most famous Nation in the World, the *Romans*, who subdued Kingdoms, never held any Profession worthy of so great Honour, nor ever rewarded any so much as they did valiant Men, generous Spirits adventuring their Lives, and obtaining thereby Praise to themselves and Glory to their Nation, as their Histories do shew, and make mention

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mention of more, than I am able to relate. Therefore certainly this Calling must be very honourable, which requires so many Endowments requisite to make a Man deserving to be admitted into the military Profession, and crowning all with true Religion and Zeal towards God, with a loyal and faithful Heart to our King and Country. What Profession procured more Honour to Nations than Men of War have done? *Greece* by her *Achilles*, *Epirus*, that little Country, by her peerless *Pyrrhus*, and that Terror to the *Turk*, *Scanderberg*, *Macedonia* by her great *Alexander*, *Troy* by her valiant *Hector*, *Rome* by *Cæsar*, *Pompey*, *Scipio*, and the rest, *Lacedæmon* by *Cimon* and *Leonidas*, *Carthage* by her *Hannibal*, and others. In a Word, who is more honourably esteemed in the Hearts of all virtuous Men, than a Soldier, so he be duly qualified, and do not wrong himself by some base Action, which true Generosity of Spirit will utterly disdain to do? *Ebud's* Soldiers were Volunteers at the Sound of a Trumpet, *Judges* iii. 27. so were the Sons of *Jesse*, and such were *David's* Worthies, *1 Sam.* i. 17. *Deborah* the Prophetess praises the Volunteers who came to help *Barak*, but complaineth of such as followed their private Business and neglected the Wars, and cursed *Meroz* for not coming to help the Lord, *Judges* v. 12, 15, 23. *Moses* was King in *Israel*, and commanded to chuse out of every Tribe one Thousand, to make an Host of twelve Thousand to go against *Midian*; so did *Saul* and *David*.

David, 1 *Sam.* xxi. 2 *Sam.* xxii. Without Command Princes could not have waged Battle as they then did. Thus a lawful Calling may be as well undertaken freely as by Compulsion, and since it is so honourable and lawful withal, there must needs be a great Delight to be of that Calling where so many honourable Princes, Dukes, Earls, Lords, Knights, Esqrs. and Gentlemen are in Defence of Religion, their King and Country, and for relieving the oppressed and maintaining their Rights. It is part of Justice by War to defend our Country and Confederates, and such as need Aid from Spoilers and Oppressors; not only for Princes to punish Offenders, but also to defend their Subjects from Wrongs at home and abroad. And what hindereth Princes from recovering what is justly their own, if otherwise not to be gotten, by Force of Arms, as all see the Undertakings of War to be lawful and honourable? But it must always be understood whether the Cause be just; for as the Cause is either Good or Evil, such may the Issue be hereafter expected to be. Yet true it is that unjust Wars may have good Success, for the Iniquity of the People against whom they are undertaken. A just War is in the Defence of our King, our Country, our Religion and Liberty. God alloweth to go to War against an Enemy coming upon us, *Ex.* xvii. *Jud.* vi. upon this Ground was the Wars of *Joshua* against the *Amalekites*, 1 *Sam.* xv. of *Gideon* against the *Midianites*, and *Saul* against the *Philistines*; of *Ahab* against *Benbadad*, the *Romans* against *Hannibal*, and our Ancient
Britains

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Britains against the *Romans*, *Saxons* and *Danes*: Kings may justly war against native Rebels, it is a just War to help Friends or Allies unjustly oppressed and wronged; upon this Ground *Abraham* armed himself against four Kings to recover *Lot*, whom they had carried away, *Gen. xiv.* *David* rescued *Keilah* from the *Philistines*, 1 *Sam. xxiii.* *Saul*, *Jabosh Gilead* from the *Ammonites*, *Judas* and *Simon* his Brother helped the other distressed *Jews*. It is a Reproach to Nations to forsake Friends, Confederates and such as should be helped in their Distress. God will allow us and command us in such a Case; it is a just War to bring under such Rebels. Now lest Men embroil themselves in needless use of the Sword to their own Destruction, in the next place it is to be considered by what Authority this War is to be undertaken, for a necessary and just War doth not warrant every one of their own Heads to make War; though they may be able to gather a Body of People together.

The first Mover thereof must be the Supreme Authority of the Nation. The Wars that God allowed, and which he always commands, were made ever under and by the Authority of those whom he set over his People, *Ex. xvii. 8.* The War against *Amalek*, *Num. xxxi.* was commanded by *Moses*, so was that against *Midian* in like manner; *Israel* war'd under the Command of *Joshua*, and after under the Judges, and then under Kings, as *Saul*, *David* and the rest. Neither ought Christian Subjects

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to be of a rebellious Principle, to wage War
or take up Arms against their lawful Sove-
reign under Pretence of Religion, as has been
done, and known, but never be it known again,
to take up Arms against our Sovereign King.
So I conclude as a loyal Subject, begging of
God to preserve his excellent Majesty King
George, and his Issue for ever.

F I N I S.



ERRATA.

Page 137. line 11. *read* Sas van Ghent et passim alibi.

181. 26. *read* 48 Hours.

243. 28. *read* Notley's Island.

244. 2. *read* Notley Island.

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